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it is one of the theses of this book that a man's social value is correspondingly more important, and his place in the rituals is partly due to and partly expresses this fact.

A man's or woman's place in Murngin society is fixed by his or her position in the kinship structure. The totality of his behavior toward all the people in his community and of their behavior in relation to him, with all the concomitant obligations, duties, and privileges, is determined by his being placed exactly in this social structure through the operation of certain mechanisms. Social space in the sense of social stratification has no vertical extension in Murngin society; but the kinship space[7] has the usual kind of vertical structure found in all kinship systems, namely, the extension which is created by the generations above and below a man (ego). Generation recognition does not extend beyond the usual five of the normal vertical kinship structure, but the lateral structure has been extended to three lines on both sides (paternal and maternal) of the line of a man's own lineage, making a total of seven.

The whole of the social organization is built on the pattern of kinship. The kinship system is the fundamental form into which the rest of the social organization has been integrated. The greater part of the behavior of the Murngin can be understood only in terms of his behavior as a kinsman. The very complex kinship structure with its seven lines of descent and five generations in each line is but an elaboration of the immediate families of orientation[8] and of procreation,[8] that is, of the family into which an individual is born and that which he creates at marriage. The underlying mechanism controlling the relations of these two families is that of asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage, which here means that a man marries his maternal uncle's daughter but not his father's sister's daughter. As will be demonstrated in other parts of this chapter, the result of this asymmetry has been to give a tremendous lateral spread to the kinship structure instead of keeping it narrowed to the two lines of descent where symmetrical cross-cousin marriage takes place.

The Murngin have doubled the count of thirty-five relatives created by five generations and seven lines of descent, through the division of each of these on the basis of brother and sister relation. In addition, by the use of the principle of age in generation, separating older

[7] See Sorokin, Pitirim A., *Social Mobility*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1927.
[8] See Glossary of Technical Terms.

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105 throughout the eight tribes. The horde, dealt with in the chapter on technology, and the phratry may or may not be present in a given area. The tribe is of minor importance in native life.

The Clan

614 The Murngin clan is an exogamic patrilineal group averaging forty
423 or fifty individuals who possess a common territory which averages
778 360 square miles.[5] This group possesses one or more sacred totemic water holes, formed by a creator totem, in which the whole of the tribal life is focussed; all members of the clan are born from this water hole, and all go back to it at death; in it the totem's spirits live with the mythological ancestor, the souls of the dead, and the unborn children. The male members of the clan who can be the permanent occupants of the group's land possess totemic emblems in common.

614 A clan frequently has an exclusive name for its people and another
[197] preferred one that defines the language spoken by this people as different from that of all other clans. The clan is exogamous by virtue
[582] of belonging to a moiety, which prevents marriage within its half of the tribe. Theoretically an individual can marry into any one of the clans in the opposite moiety. The tribal and intertribal myths of the
773 moiety which are saturated with themes expressing the local organiza-
614 tion of these people always devote small parts of their stories to the special circumstances of the creation of a clan. They also give its association with the totems and other elements of tribal life considered important by these people. The more localized myths which concern only two or three clans usually symbolize intra-clan solidarity and inter-clan antagonism. The ceremonies possessed by a clan, like the
[184] totems, are ordinarily owned by other similar groups belonging to the same moiety, although local variations in totem and ceremony occur.

614 The following relatives are always found in a clan: marikmo[6] (father's father and father's father's sister), bapa (father), mokul bapa (father's sister), wawa (older brother), yukiyuko (younger brother), yeppa (sister), gatu (son and daughter), and maraitcha (son's son and son's daughter). In other words, these relatives are in ego's brother's

[5] For additional elements in the clan configuration see Part III.

[6] See Chart II, page 59, for the place of kinship terms in the kinship system. Native terms have been used more frequently than the author would have liked, but it was impossible always to give an exact translation in a few words. It seems better to define a word carefully at least once, and thereafter use the term. (See Glossary of Native Terms.)

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keeps the kinship position of offspring of such a marriage adjusted to the organization of his group. The son of a woman and man who have married wrong and who are not dué (father's sister's son) and galle (mother's brother's daughter) to each other is called gatu by the man and waku by the woman, just as is a son by correct marriage. The sons by another wife of the man would call this child of an improper marriage brother, and the other members of the patrilineal line of the clan would call him by the kinship term they would use if he were the offspring of a proper marriage.[12]

The practice of tracing the descent of relatives within the clan through the father, and outside through the mother, although largely designed to strengthen the clan solidarity and create a sharp line of demarcation between it and other such groups, at times has had the opposite effect.

The Warumeri and Wangurri clans have until recently been bitter rivals for the possession of women of clans in the other moiety. Certain members of the Warumeri clan in the last generation married women who should have become the wives of Wangurri clansmen, since their fathers stood in the relationship of mother's brother to ego.

[12] The relatives from other clans would ignore the relationship of the son to the father in the case of a wrong marriage and call the child the proper term applied to him when tracing his place in the kinship system through the mother. Thus if ego's father married a woman ego called momo (father's mother), ego would call their child brother, for he would trace the relationship through his father, because of the influence of the clan and family; but ego's nati (mother's father), for example, would call the child waku (sister's son), instead of kaminyer (daughter's son, daughter's daughter) as he calls ego.

Nati, being outside the clan, would trace his relationship to the child of the wrong marriage through the mother. The mother in the above example would be nati's sister, so that the child would be sister's son to him. Ego's gawel (mother's brother) would call this child of ego's father by a wrong marriage to ego's momo, dué, instead of the usual waku, since he is father's sister's son if the relationship is traced through the mother.

It can be seen that this process of reckoning relationship through the mother by all outside clans is continually changing the kinship composition of the various clans. New lines of descent are constantly springing out of different clans for those of the kin who are outside its limits. A clan that would for a period have only a mari and marelker and a mari and mokul for the male and female relatives in one's clan other than one's own patrilineal line, could, by a wrong marriage of the male mari—let us say, to a waku—create a gurrong-kutara line of descent for ego on the old mari-marelker clan.

When a clan develops a subclan within it, and this smaller unit is rather strongly organized, there is a possibility of the same process being applied within the clan that ordinarily takes place outside it. When this happens the mari-marelker and gurrong-kutara lines may be found within the clan. This occurs very rarely because these subgroups are unusual within the clan.

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614 628 583 601 The Wangurri organized a raid, killed many of the Warumeri men and took the women for themselves. The children who were born from the Warumeri fathers before the capture of their mothers by the other clan were called gatu by the men who had captured their mothers, and wawa or yukiyuko by these men's sons, who were their progeny through proper marriage. The sons of these women by Wangurri fathers were also called wawa or yukiyuko by the Wangurri sons, not only because the fathers reckoned their relationship through the clan but because the mother too was in the right relationship.

In addition to reckoning kin as above, the Wangurri sons, by tracing the relationship of the Warumeri sons of these women through the mother, would call them brothers, just as the new husbands of these women would apply the term gatu to these children. The same procedure would be true of the Warumeri for the Wangurri offspring. Thus, instead of strengthening the differences between two clans, the tracing of descent through the mother for outside clans has broken down the ordinary clan walls and has done much to hasten the process of consolidation that can be seen taking place at the present time between two clans which possess contiguous territories and hold most of their totems in common. A Wangurri man is now head of both clans.

614 582 Below are listed the clans which usually intermarry. This does not mean that these clans do not also marry into other groups. It is felt, however, according to my informants, that the clans listed in the right-hand column are the ones into which those listed in the left-hand column prefer to marry.

Barlmawi	⟷	Liaalaomir
Birkili	⟷	Perango, Djirin, Gwiyula
Bringel	⟷	Mandelpui, Liaalaomir, Wawilak
Daiuror	⟷	Liagaomir, Naladaer, Djirin, Liaalaomir
Djawark	⟷	Darlwongo
Djirin	⟷	Warumeri, Birkili, Daiuror, Wangurri
Gunalbingu	⟷	Kurkamarnapia
Gwiyamil	⟷	Liagaomir, Liaalaomir
Gwiyula	⟷	Birkili
Karmalanga	⟷	Burera (tribe), Wulkara
Kiki	⟷	Maradunggimi
Kolpa	⟷	Perango, Murru
Komaits	⟷	Riraidjingo
Liagaomir	⟷	Wulkara, Gwiyamil, Daiuror
Lummami	⟷	Riraidjingo

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Marderpa	⟷	Marungun
Marungun	⟷	Yalukal, Yandjinung (tribe)
Merango	⟷	Darlwongo
Naladaer	⟷	Daiuror
Perango	⟷	Kolpa, Birkili
Wangurri	⟷	Kalpu, Maradunggimi, Djirin, Kapin
Warumeri	⟷	Kalpu
Yalukal	⟷	Marungun

Examining this list of intermarrying clans in connection with the map (page 40), we see that they usually adjoin or are but a short distance apart. When Murngin warfare is discussed later in this chapter, it will be seen that the clans which are in competition for women from another particular clan are usually antagonistic groups and belong to opposing sides in the clan feuds.

A man always calls his own totems bapa (father), marikmo (paternal grandfather), or occasionally old gatu (paternal grandfather's father), according to the relationship term that his father applies to the emblem. If his father calls a totem bapa, ego applies the term marikmo to it; when the father addresses it as older brother, ego calls it bapa. In other words, a man applies the rule of kinship to his relationship with his totem by tracing his relationship to it as though it were an actual relative of his father. Often this nicety is not completely observed, and all the ranga are called by the single term bapa. Ego traces his relationship to totems of another clan through his nearest and most important relative in that clan. He would apply the term mari to a totem if it came from a clan having the mari and marelker line of descent as ego's nearest relatives in it, or he would use the term gawel (mother's brother) or arndi (mother) if the totem came from his mother's group. The members of a clan may all call the same outside clan's totems by different terms, since they may all be in different relationships to the men within these outside groups. The use of this kinship device further articulates ego with the local organization outside his own group, which gives him a greater sense of solidarity.

Sharing of totems occurs largely with clans belonging to the same moiety and will be discussed under the sections on moiety and phratries.

Murngin Moieties

Yiritja and Dua are the intertribal names for the moieties of this North Australian culture. All of the eight tribes considered in this paper, except the Burera, refer to their moieties by these names. The

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totem and clan well, and their names, although somewhat different, are items from the same totemic configuration. They marry under the same rules and regulations and obtain for wives the same social personality (their mother's brother's daughters) and, by the action of the levirate and sororate, sometimes the identical women. In every respect the brothers are equivalent, primarily because of this occupation of the same sociological place in the family of procreation. The equivalence of brothers is one of the basic principles underlying the fundamental structure of the kinship organization.

The brother-sister reciprocal is fundamentally powerful and primarily the same as in Euro-American society. There is also a considerable degree of equivalence between brothers and sisters. They occupy the same generation and same line of descent. From a structural point of view, the horizontal generation line cross-sects the perpendicular patrilineal line at the same point for both the sisters and the brothers. They are therefore from the same totem well, they have the same totems, et cetera, but because of their sexual difference they are not completely equivalent. Further, they marry people who occupy different points within the social kinship structure, which tends to differentiate them.

The marriage of a male ego to his wife is something more than the modern marriage contract to any woman out of a general group. He marries into his wife's family of orientation, a group of four personalities who are his mother's brother, his mother's brother's wife (who is also part of another family), his wife's brother, and his wife's sister, who is also mother's brother's daughter. Ego, then, is constantly looking to his mother's people for his wives while he is a member of his own family of orientation and while forming his family of procreation, and when he has a son he still seeks the father of his mother's group to obtain wives for his male offspring. On the other hand, he has nothing to obtain during childhood and early manhood from his father's side of the family. When he has a daughter old enough for marriage, he wants a son-in-law; but he is then not a seeker but the one sought after by his sister's son, which puts him in a very strong position. To summarize: in his family of orientation he is weak in his relations with his mother's people and strong with his father's; in his family of procreation this still holds true. It is to be noted that on his father's side there are no tabooed collateral relatives with the exception of his sister, who is a part of his own family; but on his mother's side two are taboo: mokul rumeru and momelker. The elementary family tends to

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are called father who are classificatory, not actual, male parents; and the sons of these classificatory fathers are called brother by each other although they are not blood brothers. Each brother calls the offspring of every other brother as well as his own, sons and daughters, and the latter reciprocate with father. On the mother's side the mother's sisters are called mother and all the brothers of one's mother's father are given the same term as the maternal grandfather, which means, by the logic of equivalences, that the daughters of these maternal grandfathers must be called mother and these women's brothers are classed as maternal uncles. It can be seen that such a system of classifying collateral kin with a man's own lineage, given the passage of a few generations, associates under one term actual blood relatives and a whole group of men who may not be related.

The kinship system, as stated, recognizes the total of seventy-one kinds of relatives. There are seven lines of descent and five generations in each lineage. The seven lines of descent include a man's or woman's own patrilineal line, three lines of descent related to him through his father and three through his mother. Since each of the seven lines has five generations, it means that thirty-five relatives are created by the lineage and generation principles alone. This number is doubled by a sexual division of the relatives recognized. The males and females of each line and generation either are given separate terms, or their separation is effected by adding a male or female adjective to the general term. For example, son and daughter are called gatu, but the former is called gatu diramo (man) and the latter gatu mielk (woman).

The division of the brother relation on the basis of age accounts for the final kinship term. A brother who was born before his own brothers calls them by a term which means younger brother and they call him by a word which designates him as older brother.

The system as thus far described has concerned only descent and its relationships. The whole structure rests upon a law of marriage by which a man's wife is his maternal uncle's daughter and a woman's husband is her paternal aunt's son. The woman sought by a man is his consanguine mother's brother's child; but if no one of that near relationship is available, the one as near by blood as can be obtained is preferred. The same principle holds true for a woman's spouse. This marriage is not symmetrical, in the sense that a man's mother's brother does not marry his father's sister and thereby have offspring who are related to him through both his father's side and his mother's line, as under the marriage rules of many primitive tribes. The Murngin

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cross-cousin marriage is asymmetrical because father's sister's daughter is not mother's brother's daughter and the former marries outside ego's mother's or father's line; the maternal uncle's son is not at the same time father's sister's son, and he too marries someone outside the two lines rather than ego's sister, as he would if this cross-cousin marriage were symmetrical. The outside marriage of the two, because of this asymmetry of the basic preferential marriage mechanism, is fundamentally responsible for the enlargement of the kinship system into the seven lines of descent. The wife and husband of these two members, father's sister's daughter and father's sister's son, are recognized in each of the generations, and the brothers and sisters of their spouses are also recognized because of the feeling for including a whole family in the terminology if any one of its members is recognized. This general problem of the elaborating of the kinship system will be discussed later. Chart II depicts the whole Murngin kinship system. Ego's line is the one in the center of the chart and ego is placed in the position of brother, since he and brother occupy the same space in the scheme. The whole system is related or articulated in the chart to ego because the system itself is formed on this basis. This means that the kinship terminology is always from the point of view of a man speaking or being spoken to. For example, a man or woman calls his father's father marikmo and the latter calls his son's son maraitcha. The chart shows this by putting marikmo two generations above ego and in the same line. Ego's son's son calls ego marikmo, is termed maraitcha by him, and is articulated into the general chart by placing him two generations below in ego's line. The = signs designate marriage. It is important to notice that they tie two lines directly together. The sign ⌐¬ symbolizes a brother and sister relationship. For example, yeppa (sister) and wawa (older brother) have their direct relationship symbolized by this device, as do arndi (mother) and gawel (mother's brother). The = sign shows that ego and his brothers marry galle and that ego's sisters marry dué. The abbreviated English descriptive terms found above each of these relatives will enable the reader to trace their "blood" relationship to ego.

A perusal of the chart shows that a number of the terms are repeated; for example, mother and mother's brother are called arndi and gawel, respectively, and so are the daughter and son of one's wife's brother.

The whole kinship system of the Murngin people is made up of fundamental kinship reciprocals, such as brother and sister, father

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and son, maternal uncle and sister's son. Every individual term represents a complex nexus of social behavior which creates a well-defined social personality. Each of these social personalities is but one element of the larger personality of each individual within the whole society, since each male has all the male terms in the kinship system applied to him, and every woman all the female terms.

Each of the reciprocals is considered below in structural order according to patrilineal line. The first relationships considered are those in a man's own line, beginning with those of his own generation—older and younger brother, brother and sister, and sister and sister. We next consider the collateral relatives in the patrilineal lines outside ego's own, beginning with the husband and wife relationship.

Wawa ⟷ *Yukiyuko* (older brother ⟷ younger brother)

The general type of this relationship has several varieties of which the natives are conscious when they use the two general terms. They comprise: (1) Two brothers from the same father and same mother; (2) two brothers from the same father and two mothers who are sisters; (3) from the same mother and two fathers who are brothers; (4) from two fathers who are brothers, and two mothers who are sisters; (5) brothers belonging to the same clan but only tribal in relationship; (6) brothers from nearby clans; (7) brothers from more remote clans and tribes. The intensity of behavior decreases from the first to the last mentioned; indeed, the last two varieties may have little in common with the other five; yet given normal conditions, the Murngin and other tribes with their type of kinship would consider it wrong if certain, though not all, of the rules regulating this relationship were broken. Hence it will be necessary to differentiate among the various kinds of brothers.[4]

The junior levirate is a prominent mechanism. When an older brother dies the brother next in age and consanguinity receives his wives and becomes father to the children. This is not only a privilege, but a duty. Frequently wives thus acquired, being past the age of bearing children or gathering food, are really an economic liability to the heir; yet he must take and look after them.

The junior levirate functions even before the death of the older brother. A gawel (father-in-law) is supposed to give his waku (son-in-law) all the female offspring from his own wives, but there is a

[4] An aborigine, speaking fair English, described the first two varieties as "my proper wawa," the third and fourth as "my proper wawa, but little bit different," the fifth as "close-up wawa," the sixth and seventh as "far-off wawas."

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strong feeling that a man who has acquired two wives or all the issue of his gawel's first wife should allow his younger brother to have his share of the women from the gawel and mokul. The older brother, however, has the first right to them, and his gawel will ask his permission before giving the third daughter to the younger man. He will say: "It is better that your yukiyuko have this woman, for you have two already, and he has none. It is better that I have more waku to help me." Unless the older brother is an extraordinarily selfish person, he immediately replies, "Yes, you tell him to feed her" (give her to him for a wife); and he helps his younger brother procure the presents he must give gawel and mokul for this wife.

Mutual help prevails between wawa and yukiyuko in giving frequent presents to gawel and mokul. When wawa is making presents for his first wives, yukiyuko gives him spears, game from the hunt, and whatever wawa might like to present to his parents-in-law. When yukiyuko's turn comes, wawa is equally helpful. There is no obligation on yukiyuko to make presents to wawa for the latter's right to the galle that are to come to the former. Rather, wawa frequently asks gawel to give his other daughters to yukiyuko and makes presents to gawel for this purpose. Several motives guide him in this procedure. The first is brotherly affection and family pride. Own brothers through one father and one mother or father's brothers and mother's sisters are one's best friends, and most like one socially. Then there is frequently the fear that yukiyuko will fornicate with wawa's wives. This is no uncommon thing; the jungle and Australian bush offer ample opportunities for secret meetings. An old man usually suffers this indignity in silence, since he knows that his senility forces his wives to go to other men for sexual satisfaction and that his younger brothers who will inherit them are the proper ones for them. If the older brother has this situation too forcibly thrust upon him by camp gossip, he must attempt to discipline the younger man by scolding him—but "he doesn't talk very hard." Among younger men this would cause considerable trouble and would not happen very often except among tribal brothers, the whole pressure of society being against the younger man: all the relatives in his male line and those of the clan would defend the rights of the older man and condemn the younger. Finally, an older brother always helps a younger brother to acquire a wife because it settles the younger man and tends to prevent his getting into trouble with more remote wawas, yukiyukos, and other kin, by

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593 Brothers look to their sisters to supply them with wakus for their
[582 daughters to marry. A waku's importance to a man is no less than
43] that of a son. A brother always makes presents to his sister for her son, as well as to her husband.

[262 A brother, but no sister, may eat a youth's kill of kangaroo, emu,
224] et cetera, until the youth's wife has had a child. A sister is supposed to help carry the ruddled bones of the first kangaroo or emu killed by her brother, just as she helps carry her dead brother's bones.

[551] A brother and father always know and keep the tabooed names of a girl. No woman knows her ceremonial name.

593 There are two sets of behavior in the relationship of a brother and
601 sister that must be treated together (see pages 110-112 for an interpretation of the Wakinu and Mirriri customs). First, she is called wakinu by all her brothers. In its primary sense, wakinu means a person without kin, and secondarily "worthless" or, more expressively, "rubbish."
[176] Bamapama, the trickster hero, a much-loved scoundrel who lived in the olden days and broke all laws, is always wakinu after some particularly fantastic escapade of his has been retold. Wakinu is used during a fight as an appropriate term against one's enemies. Secondly,
593 no brother can hear his sister sworn at or hear obscene speech in her
195 presence, such as is very common otherwise. Ordinarily, when a man's
83] anger rises, he immediately bursts into an almost pyrotechnical display of abuse, most of it centering around sex, breaking of incest taboos, peculiarities of the genitalia, irregularities in the sexual act between men and women, et cetera. The aversion to hearing or using such profanity in front of a sister is called "mirriri" (ear-thing). It really means, "My ear can't hear obscenity in front of my sister." An older man said, "It is just the same as if I had been hit on the head with a club when I hear that." Another said, "My heart jumps and stops, jumps and stops, when I hear that mirriri."

602 Malambunu had come home and found his food unprepared by his
578 wife, Dangra. A quarrel resulted in which he called her matamakmi
195 (incestuous). She did not swear at him. A near-clan brother of Dangra, Badunga, heard the swearing and became very angry. He gathered a bundle of spears, hooked them one by one to his spear-thrower, and threw them at a large number of the women in the native camp, including Dangra. An investigation showed that every one of the women at whom he threw was called yeppa by him.

Balli, an adolescent girl, called her own mother dalardumaru (big vagina).

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593 Thus far, the whole relationship is one of solidarity, and little potentiality for conflict appears.

835 595 Murngin polygyny usually implies that a man will acquire wives throughout his lifetime. Through the operation of tribal laws a very old man frequently gets young girls for wives. All these women are arndi to the sons, but often young men cohabit clandestinely with their father's younger wives. These must be only tribal relatives of the sons' actual mothers. Even so, the practice is considered wrong, but the feeling is not strong enough to prevent a sexually active son from [578] cohabiting with a father's wife. Should the old man discover it, he would be very angry and reprove his son by calling him a dog, et cetera, but it is generally agreed that an old man beyond the age where sexual life interests him would not "growl very hard."

582 593 835 578 Sometimes when a son is too young to marry, a father may take his boy's galle as a wife (she is "small" arndi to the father) to keep someone else from getting her, because of the son's immaturity. The son would call this woman arndi until the father's death; then he inherits her and calls her galle. Any children born to her by the father would be called yukiyuko or yeppa and not gatu by the son. Frequently a son considers it his right to copulate with her (not openly), which causes the father much pain. The younger man would have abuse heaped on his head, but there would never be a fight over such a problem, or any other, between a father and son so long as they belonged to the same clan; however, a dispute between "sons" and "fathers" of different clans often leads to fights and occasional killings.

593 606 If a daughter runs away from her husband (the father's waku), the father with the aid of his sons brings the runaway back to his waku. She receives a beating from him and is advised to remain faithful to her husband. Quarreling daughters who are the wives of one man are instructed by their father to live in peace, for he considers the welfare of his waku of the greatest importance. He and her brothers [551] also keep his daughter's totemic name for her since she is not allowed to know it.

603 602 *Marikmo* ⟷ *Maraitcha* (diramo and mielk)* (father's father; father's father's sister ⟷ son's son; son's daughter; brother's son's son; brother's son's daughter)

This relationship conforms to the father-children type, having the same five varieties as found in the bapa-gatu relationship.

* *Diramo*, man, male; *mielk*, woman, female.

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underlies this most fundamental lateral relationship. Given the correlated basic complex of the junior levirate, by which the next eldest brother inherits a dead man's wife, it would be impossible not to have polygyny; and it is rather difficult to see how the entire system of kinship could exist without the levirate in some form. 605 595

A man always tries to obtain his actual mother's brother's daughter; if he cannot get her, he tries to marry someone as near to her in consanguinity as possible. 605 582

Usually an older male dué and male galle have an understanding that their sons and daughters shall marry. Such a betrothal could occur before the birth of either child. Sometimes a gawel will promise his wife's next daughter to his waku. Thus, even before birth there is a recognized relationship between dué and galle. 605 584

There are several degrees of marriage. As soon as a boy is circumcised and old enough to understand and remember what is told him, his galle is pointed out. At a similar age a galle mielk has her dué diramo shown to her. This is done by the male parents of both children.

The young men and women older than the two usually tease the young couple with somewhat obscene jokes about their relationship and its meaning in their physical behavior. The youngsters are usually shy and ashamed when confronted with such humor; however, as small children, when away from the elders, they play house together. They are fully aware of the sexual act and of sex differences. [831] [864] [857]

About the time facial hair appears upon a boy and the breasts of a girl swell, that is, when sexual intercourse is in their power and of interest to both, they start making love trysts in the bush. They may not copulate at first, but they simulate the act in close contact. 605 835 836

When a girl has her first menses the mother and older women put her inside a house (no special one) and leave her. She is supposed to remain in one place and move with digging sticks as crutches. This represents the myth of the two old women who made the present world, walking with the aid of digging sticks; the older of the two was menstruating. It is believed that menstruation is due to the sexual act, and that the blood is not dangerous to a woman since it comes from the abdomen and not the heart. 841

When a girl's first menses are over, her father (gawel to her dué) says to her mother (mokul to her dué), "You go make a house for them and fix a camp for them. She is big enough now" (see page 129). 583

After this, a young couple start living together and are recognized

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as husband and wife. They have been copulating before, frequently with the knowledge of the father and mother, but the latter pretend ignorance.

Usually an older man with a wife or two acquires a young woman in her adolescent period. A young girl often starts living in her husband's household before menstruation. The dué usually takes her for fear of having her stolen from her parents by some other dué. He has no intercourse with her during this period. When the girl is old enough he may without ceremony start actual intercourse. Or he may take her out into the bush on the ruse that they are going fishing. He asks her to get some drinking water or some wood. While she is gone he ties a small piece of opossum fur string around his index finger, and when she comes back he asks her to lie down. He places the finger inside her vagina; then they return to camp, and sexual intercourse starts. This minor ceremony is not frequently practiced.

When an older man takes a pre-adolescent girl he helps the mother perform the ceremony at her first menstruation. After this is over the husband paints her with red ochre (this is always done for mourners after the death of a relative to avoid ceremonial uncleanliness, and is used in ceremonies).

Ordinarily there is but little taboo on a menstruating woman. She sleeps in the same house or camp with her husband, though the couple do not copulate. The only restriction in daily life is that no man would allow a wife or any other woman to go out in a canoe with him during this period, for otherwise the great mythical snake, Bapa Indi (the Great Father), would swallow them all. The story is told that not so long ago a man took his two wives in a canoe for a trip from one island to another. One of them was menstruating. When they had gone for a short time Yurlunggur (Bapa Indi) smelt the unclean odor, came out of the subterranean depths, and swallowed them all. This modern folk tale, which is believed by all Murngin, fits into the tribe's most fundamental myth of the two old creator sisters.

The above describes how a man ordinarily obtains a wife and what usually happens; but often a woman is not taken from her parents for some time because her future husband may be away in the country of a more distant clan. Various men may also dispute the right to her, owing to a gawel's exceeding his rights by promising her to several men, or because of a wrong marriage of the mokul or gawel, with the true gurrong of mokul demanding the daughter and the true waku of gawel claiming her. If the marriage had been according to

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tribal law, the waku of gawel and the gurrong of mokul would have been the same person; with the wrong marriage a discord is created in the first ascending generation, and sometimes considerable time elapses before a woman is taken in marriage.

After marriage a young man usually lives for a short period of varying length with his parents-in-law. After this he may go to his own people and take his wife with him. There is often much protest by the wife when she leaves her parents, but they aid her husband. When a child is born, its parents, if not already with the wife's parents, return there so the grandparents can see the baby. This is only for the first child, although the parents of both the husband and wife are always pleased and anxious to see all the grandchildren.

When a girl leaves her parents for the first time, a younger brother accompanies her (see page 65), a custom called "olokork." (The sister's husband is also dué to her young brother, just as this younger brother is galle to his sister's dué.) The husband looks out for the younger man and assumes the place of a father to him during his residence there.

When a child is born the new union is greatly solidified; it now has become a fully developed family, and except for the wife's being stolen by another man there would be little chance of permanent rupture even if she ran away. Tribal sentiment would be against her and her paramour or anyone who might have stolen her. The children would seldom go with her in such a case, and the strong attachment a Murngin mother has for her offspring would force her to come back to them. The writer has recorded several instances of a woman's going through the most difficult privations and risking probable death to return to her children after she had been stolen by a man from another tribe.

If a camp has been ambushed and the men all killed in a general tribal war, the women and children are taken by the conquerors and given as wives to the men who are in the right relationship to them.

A man wants as many wives as he can get and still keep his peace with the other males of his clan. The average is about three and a half for middle-aged men; but there is a recorded case of one native with seventeen wives, the majority having been obtained by stealing them or killing their husbands. He also married "wrong." There is a close correlation of having many wives with fighting strength, or with being the son of a man powerful in war who had thereby acquired a large number of women whose brothers would be gawels to

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586 union is illustrated by the action of two former lovers when the man, to obtain tribal recognition of his taking the woman to wife, walks into the husband's camp and takes her away. The husband always shows fight, but his people on this occasion stop him. There is a considerable interval before the next step, the new couple meanwhile going away to another country. When the three meet again the former husband comes over to their camp, eats with them, and accepts presents of food or the man's totemic emblem, signifying that they are friends, that he recognizes the rights of the new dué and has given up his own. This very seldom happens, for a man's importance in society rests largely on the large number of galle who bear him many children and gather quantities of food during the great tribal ceremonies. It would only occur when he and the old men of his clan had become bored with the actions of the woman and did not wish to kill her.

583 Although many customs, such as the use of a string to bring back
578 or take a runaway woman, apply also to the stealing of women, the latter method of acquiring a woman nevertheless occupies a rather different place in the tribal life and local organization. If a woman is found to be really to blame, there frequently is no further trouble; but if it is believed she has been definitely stolen, difficulties are to be expected. The theft of a man's galle by a member of a rival clan is a recognized method of insulting all the members of the legal husband's clan. The clan into which she is taken consider it wrong but justifiable and it pleases them that their enemies have lost the woman.

Still another method of securing women—by ambush—differs from woman-stealing only in that the husband is first killed; capture is not the object of the fight except as retaliation for an earlier theft of women. The writer has recorded instances of a group of clans acquiring five or six women by this means.

582 The gift of a daughter to a far-off dué has two forms, according to
584 the recognition given it by the tribe. If a gawel has no near waku, he is forced to find a man considerably removed from him in this relationship, and all the people feel that he has done right; but if a gawel has a near waku and gives his daughter to a distant one, the near waku's people feel that they have been treated unfairly. If they are a strong clan they force her return. In any case, there is a feeling of uncertainty about the marriage, and her husband is apprehensive of her being taken away by her near dué. Sometimes a man gains permission from his waku to give his daughter to a distant one, because of a complex of circumstances, such as: (1) the weakness of the near

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waku and his clan; (2) the strength of the far-off waku's clan; (3) the near waku's having a number of wives and no younger brothers; and (4) the possibility that the waku may want to go without wives. There are two cases of this last on record. The old men usually try to get a man to marry and marry properly. Not only is their personal pressure felt by a man who does not wish to marry, but the whole impact of society is placed against him in hundreds of direct and indirect ways. It would be a strong man with an intense dislike of women who could retain his bachelorhood against such odds.[12]

The reader may assume from this account of illegal unions that marriage is a very unstable institution. Such is not the case. Although love affairs are common, a lifelong marriage either of a galle mielk to one dué, or to him and his younger brothers through the levirate, is the normal thing. Murngin society could not exist were this not true.

From the cases of unfaithfulness and the mechanical manner of acquiring spouses through the relationship of the parents, conjugal love might appear impossible. Although rare, it does exist. The ideal wife and husband are those who remain faithful to their spouses; on the other hand, a promiscuous woman or man is disapproved of even though not openly condemned.

To illustrate a man's affection for his wife: Mun-yir-yir had had a magically powerful totemic string given him to keep preparatory to its being placed upon another's totemic emblem. No woman may see or even hear of such a thing. His galle was burning bush for bandicoots. The fire burned and destroyed the string. All his clansmen and those of the man to whom the string belonged were extremely angry. Women had been killed before for such an offense. An old man said

[12] Occasionally one hears accounts of a number of unmarried men collecting in a group of five or six, going out into the jungle with one woman and having group sexual relation with her. One woman I knew of had done this several times; the people severely disapproved of her. She seemed a woman of insatiable sexual appetite and was continually in trouble because of it. She also seemed to stimulate all the men sexually and had a greater interest for them than some of the other women who might have been obtained. Sometimes a youth who is having an affair with an older woman will tell his friends and have them accompany him to his assignation. The other men remain back when they arrive. According to one of the accounts given me, the woman says, "Who is with you?" He replies, "My friends." She says, "Do not bring your friends, I only like you, I only want to have you." The boy says, "No, they are my friends. I'll have you first, then they can." She objects, and he says, "But I feel very sorry for them. Maybe if you don't play with them they will come use black magic on you." He keeps on talking like that and the woman listens and agrees to his proposal. There seems to be considerable evidence that what is called nymphomania among modern women also exists among these aboriginal peoples.

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593 775 15v the people engaged in the trouble because it is believed a spirit of the dead should not be disturbed by fights until after the last mourning ceremony. It was as father and mother that the two protested, but evidently through the child there was a greater bond of solidarity between them.

605 304 When a young dué is circumcised, his near galle cut their thighs "to show their sorrow." A galle always carries her dué's bones after they have been exhumed.

605 *Dué Diramo* ⟷ *Galle Diramo* (father's sister's son ⟷ mother's brother's son)

There are as many variations in the dué-diramo and galle-diramo relationship as in the dué-diramo and galle-mielk type.

[607] This is one of the strongest relationships between men. The actual brothers of ego's wife (who is the daughter of mother's brother) and the consanguine father's sister's son (who is the husband of ego's sister) have the strongest bond of any of the male dué and galle. Each [431] always comes to the other for assistance when he gets into trouble. When a man is giving presents to gawel for gawel's daughter, he also offers them to galle diramo because he is brother to the wife.

When Narnarngo got himself into trouble with Bengaliwe his dué immediately came to his assistance (see page 86). This is only one instance of scores recorded by the writer.

Dué and galle engage in many enterprises together, such as canoe building. The bond between them finds a full expression in all the everyday activities of life. When a man is in trouble and needs a good supply of weapons it is always his brothers, and his dué and galle, who lend him extra spears and clubs, and who come to his assistance.

605 582 Male dué and galle have added strength given to their relationship through indirect ties; dué's son and galle's daughter will later be husband and wife; and galle will later be, or is, gawel to dué's son, just as dué is waku to galle's father. This last relationship is one of the most binding in Murngun society, and by indirect relationship it occurs twice in the reciprocity that exists between galle and dué: dué's son is waku to galle, and dué is waku to galle's father.

605 The full position of dué diramo and galle diramo cannot be realized until one studies the behavior of yeppa and her brother and her position as the wife of dué. The dué's position therefore includes the following relationships: (1) to his wife; (2) to galle's father; and (3) his son's relationship of waku to dué's galle. Every one of these elements

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contributes appreciably to the solidarity of the two men. Many elements make for conflict if the marriage is normal, but this is overcome by the Murngin with great brilliance in social engineering. 605

Galle diramo and dué mielk have little direct relationship. Their entire conduct is a pale reflection of the other galle-diramo and dué-diramo reciprocity. Galle diramo marries mari mielk and his wife's relatives belong to a different line from that of dué mielk; dué mielk's husband is kutara in still another line. [582]

Gawel ⟷ *Waku* (diramo and mielk) (mother's brother ⟷ sister's child) 604

There are two types of the waku-gawel relationship since there are both a male and a female waku, the relationship with the latter being of little importance. There are six varieties of the gawel and waku-diramo type. They are, in descending order of significance: (1) the consanguine mother's brother (gawel) and sister's son, the latter having the former's daughter as a wife; (2) mother's brother whose daughters have been given to waku's brothers; (3) consanguine mother's brothers, but with no daughters given to the sister's son; (4) near mother's brothers and sister's sons; (5) distant mother's brothers and sister's sons, who have a trading reciprocation; and (6) distant mother's brothers and sister's sons.

The first three and the fifth are the important varieties in the eyes of the natives. The fifth will be treated by itself (see page 145), since it includes other elements of the Murngin culture either latent or non-existent in the relationships so far studied. The fundamental facts are that mother's brother is the man to whom sister's son looks for a wife, and that accordingly waku is the man from whom gawel receives many presents and favors.

As soon as a boy is old enough to comprehend, his parents point gawel out to him, or a gawel may tell the boy that he is his potential father-in-law and as such must receive special attention. This means that throughout waku's life he is always giving presents to gawel. The latter at times returns them. All the articles of the daily diet and material culture are included in this gift-making. When a waku has been initiated into the tribal secrets to the point where he knows and has seen his ranga, he often gives the string from it to his gawel. This is the finest gift one man could make to another, unless it were the ranga itself or a hair belt made from a dead clansman's hair. In a way, any of these presents would give an important part of the social 604 431

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personality of the waku to his gawel. The gifts are always more numerous from the younger man to the older; but when a gawel receives ranga string, a ranga, or the hair belt, he must reciprocate by giving a return present to show his appreciation, or he would offend his waku.

When a gawel gives his daughter to his sister's son, this is not merely a gift, for the waku by tribal law has a right to her and would fight for her if the gawel tried to give her to someone else. He would also feel that he had the right to gawel's wife's second daughter and the privilege of declining the offer of a third. There would be an obligation, too, on gawel to give his waku another wife if the first were barren or died before giving birth to a child. If a waku's wife runs away from him, his gawel would under almost all circumstances do everything possible to get her back for the husband. If he did not, he would feel obligated to give the waku another daughter in her place.

A gawel decides when the waku shall receive his daughter, or, in other words, he really determines when the tribe shall give its complete recognition to the marriage.

A group of brothers who were gawel would be divided up according to seniority among a group of waku who were brothers. The oldest gawel would have the oldest waku, and the next oldest gawel would have the next oldest waku. This is the ideal, naturally not always realized. Ideally, also, the first wife gives her first two daughters to the oldest waku and the next daughter to the next oldest waku.

When a gawel decides to give recognition to a marriage of his daughter to a waku, he instructs his wife (mokul rumeru to the waku) to build a camp for the two, and for a time residence is matrilocal (see page 77).

When it is decided that a waku is to get a gawel's daughter, the gawel shows his pleasure by giving presents to his dué, who is the boy's father, and also to yeppa, his sister, who is the boy's mother. The boy's mother would receive more than the father. A gawel is pleased, because a waku is like a second son to him, and he has strengthened his position in the tribe by this marriage tie to another clan, whereas a daughter is of little use in time of war. A waku would be of great help, both because of himself and his brothers, and also because of waku's other relatives.

Such a relationship would also prevent trouble. "If my bapa and my gawel tried to fight, I'd stop them," is a favorite remark among the Murngin men. "I wouldn't know which one to help. I'd stop both

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604 The gawel and waku-mielk relationship is not very strong. The
835 man would not ordinarily copulate with her in a clandestine affair. If he were caught he would be called a dog or other animal because of intimacy with too near a kinswoman.

Arndi ⟷ *Waku* (diramo and mielk) (mother ⟷ child)

593 There are two types of kinship in this reciprocal—mother and son,
604 and mother and daughter. Each has a number of varieties according to the closeness of relation and the consequently stronger bonds. They are: (1) actual mother, and her sons and daughters; (2) mother's sisters who are wives of the actual father and his brothers; (3) mothers, and children from nearby clans. There is another type of arndi who is ego's son's mate. She is near or distant according to the blood or tribal connection.

The essential element in the relationship is that arndi is the mother of waku. Her sisters are considered near mothers; they may be one's father's wives or near father's wives.

593 There are no taboos between a mother and her children except
835 sexual ones. Even here a waku often has an affair with a distant arndi. This is considered wrong, but it occurs. One's father's arndi would
582 come from nati and mari, while one's son's arndi would have to come from galle and mari. Except under rare circumstances there would be no possible chance of a son's marrying a possible mate for a father, just as the opposite union would not be allowed.

853 A mother suckles her own children but her sisters often help if she
847 happens to have two babies whose ages are close together. Sometimes a mother kills her newborn babe because it has followed too closely on her others and she has not enough milk to feed it. This would be done without the knowledge of the father, who would be most angry if he knew it. If a baby dies when born, the father is suspicious of his wife, believing that she might have smothered it in the bush.

847 Abortion, practiced for the same reason as infanticide, is not infrequent. The pregnant woman's sisters exert pressure on her abdomen with knees and hands.

847 When twins are born one is always killed, sometimes the second.
845 But usually, if they are boy and girl, the latter is put to death. Waltjimi's wife killed the boy and allowed the girl to live. There was much indignation in the camp, for it was said that a boy made a people strong, while a girl only caused trouble. A woman kills a twin because it makes her feel like a dog to have a litter instead of one baby.

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The small letters are for women; the larger type designates men. The figure shows that: (1) ego is all the male terms; (2) he is in direct relation to every female term; and (3) he is only indirectly concerned with the reciprocal relations of women. The reverse of these statements is true if ego is a woman.

Ego, as an expression of only one part—the kinship organization—of Murngin culture, is an extremely complex social personality. We must remember that he is a member of a tribe, a clan, and moiety; of a totemic system; of an economic group; of a system of mythology, ceremony and belief; and of many other mechanisms.

Each individual feels it is his right rather than his duty to keep his part of the system working; hence the proper functioning of the whole. A proper marriage is preferred because a Murngin man and woman usually feel that they have a right to each other, since their relationship has destined them to marriage. This is true of all the behavior of all the personalities in the system.

Nevertheless, wrong marriages occur (see also pages 26, 27). The Murngin have arranged a rather simple scheme to make the new marriage fit into the general kinship system and adjust the relationships of the offspring to other members of the society.

If one of ego's own family marries wrong, the relationship term of the woman this person married is changed so that it fits what she would be called were she the proper galle of ego's relative. Thus, when ego's own galle is taken by bapa, the former no longer calls her galle, but arndi. This is true throughout. When natchiwalker marries ego's mokul instead of ego's momelker, ego no longer calls the woman mokul, but momelker; yet the correct term for the woman is known, as will be seen presently.

When children are born from a wrong marriage, the father calls them by the terms all other parents give their children (gatu). But everyone else calls the children by the term used if the mother had married normally. To use the native expression, "The father is thrown away."[13] There is only one exception: if a father marries ego's galle, ego would not call the children gatu, but wawa and yeppa. In all other cases the rule would hold; if ego's father married ego's momelker, ego would call the offspring marelker and mokul, and not brother and sister. There are recorded cases of this. When natchiwalker marries

[13] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "Three Tribes of Western Australia," Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, *Journal*, London, 1913, Vol. XLIII, pages 143-194.

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582 601 mokul and the mokul is ego's mother's mother's blood-brother's daughter, he looks to this mokul to give him a daughter for his wife. Any offspring from the union would be called galle by ego.

This simple arrangement always keeps the kinship system functioning smoothly. The odd arrangement of the relatives created within the local clan has already been discussed in Chapter II.

614 602 A child inherits its totem from its father. When the totemic emblem is shown to the boy for the first time the father or clan leader says, "This is your father," or "your grandfather." The boy will always call it by one of these terms. Most men call their totem "father." Their mother's totem is called arndi or gawel, and the totems of other clans are traced by the nearest relative in these clans. If this relative is marelker, for instance, and he calls the totem father, ego would use the term mari for it. Since most of the mythology is connected with the totems and ceremonies, kinship permeates the whole of Murngin culture. Its relationship to the mythological system will be considered later.

Principles of Murngin Kinship Structure

611 The two main elements in Murngin kinship are the patrilineal lines and their lateral connections through the intermarriage of the five generations of the seven lines of descent.

Perpendicular Relationships

601 611 614 All perpendicular relationships are *strong* and *unbreakable* since they are patrilineal lines of fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, and sisters, belonging to the same totemic clans and interlocking families. Distant *tribal* relatives called father, son, et cetera, are not under consideration. Clan solidarity and family cohesion prevent strife among the relatives who fit into the perpendicular relationship. If ego, for our purposes, is shifted one line to the right, he takes galle's place, and gawel becomes his father; or if he is shifted to the left to dumungur, this again is a father and son line of descent. Each of the seven lines of descent is built out of the restricted family, which preserves its continuity by the patrilineal laws that regulate descent from fathers to sons. The mother, although still considered a member of her father's clan, is through her children firmly bound to *their* clan. To be fully understood, her position must also be considered from the point of view of sister—she must be seen as a sister to her brother no less than as ego's mother.

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Lateral Relationships

Malinowski, in his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*,[14] has given a splendid description and explanation of the economic ritual called the kula. Reciprocation is the fundamental basis of this ceremonial exchange which produces a stability and balance in the social relations of the groups and individuals involved. It organizes the structure of the economic group by the exchange of ceremonial objects.

The fundamentals of Murngin kinship also rest on reciprocation, the underlying basis of which, however, is a mutual antagonism between the kinship personalities who form the lateral relationships. This organized[15] antagonism is correlated with a sense of personal integrity or solidarity by each of the social personalities involved. An equilibrium between the organized antagonisms created by the ritual and economic reciprocity forms the smaller segments of kinship, as well as the completed structure when articulated to the perpendicular patrilineal lines of fathers and sons.

All lateral relationships are potentially much weaker than the perpendicular because they involve the partial destruction of an old family by taking a daughter and sister from it to become the wife and mother of a new family to be created. Social change of any kind in a society of this type involves weakness in that part of its structure where the movement takes place, and arouses antagonisms between the families and clans involved. Yet the change of a woman's status must continue if the society is to survive. Women must be given if they are to be acquired for wives and mothers to continue one's own clan's patrilineal line of descent as well as the family system.

It has just been said that the perpendicular structures are strong and the lateral relationships potentially weaker. The perpendicular relations are lines of fathers, brothers and sons, and the direct lateral relations are those of marriage by which the vertical relations are tied to each other. To repeat a statement made earlier, in each generation the men marry the line to the right of them in lateral articulation with their own patrilineal column, and the women of ego's patrilineal line unite by marriage with the line to the left (see Chart II).

Since all the relatives, all the generations, and all the seven lines do exactly the same thing, let us examine the immediate situation created

[14] Malinowski, Bronislaw, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London, 1922.

[15] "Organized"; the term is used in its newer, sociological sense, meaning "socially controlled."

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by the dué-galle (husband and wife) relationship, for there lies the basis of the social system's lateral structure. In brief, ego obtains from his mother's brother a woman with whom he copulates and creates a

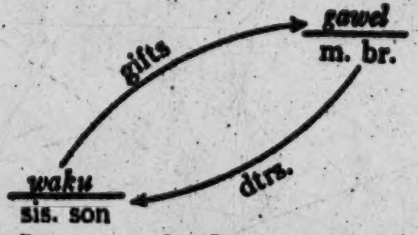

CHART IV.—THE DAUGHTER AND GIFT RECIPROCATION BY THE SON-IN-LAW AND FATHER-IN-LAW

new family; ego reciprocates by giving presents to his mother's brother. More generally, a group of brothers are always giving presents to another group of brothers for their daughters, while the first group of brothers are receiving presents for *their* daughters from still another group of brothers.

This can be symbolized with the pattern shown in Chart IV.

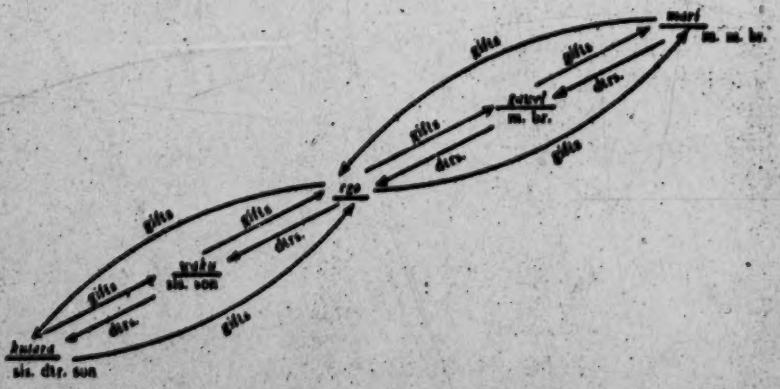

CHART V.—STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE GIFT AND DAUGHTER EXCHANGE

This diagonal reciprocation creates a line of five relatives running diagonally up from the second descending generation (kutara) to the second ascending generation (mari), who are forever exchanging women and presents.

In Chart V this reciprocation has been presented so as to show the

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core of the whole structure functioning at one time. Starting from the lower left-hand corner, kutara is seen making gifts to ego's waku for his daughters; waku is sending gifts to ego (waku's gawel) for his daughters; ego is performing the same exchange with gawel, while the latter is in a similar position with ego's mari. Thus we see running diagonally throughout the entire kinship system the reciprocation based on the exchange of daughters and compensated for it by gifts, while at the same time new families are being created by the change of the daughter and sister of the older family into the wife and mother of the newly created family (see Chart II).

This same small pattern of behavior (mother's brother ⟷ sister's son) creates other diagonal lines, the two most important of which are the line dumungur ⟷ gurrong ⟷ dué ⟷ bapa ⟷ nati; and the line, kaminyer ⟷ gatu ⟷ galle ⟷ marelker ⟷ natji walker. These lines are also exchanging women for presents, as ego's own line does. To see this clearly, let the reader consider bapa (father) in Chart II as ego, and it will be seen that from dumungur to nati there are people in the same relationship as kutara to mari.

There is always the danger that this reciprocity will be broken; that gawel will allow his daughter to go to another relative than waku; that a series of runaway marriages, wrong marriages, or wife-stealing will break these lateral and diagonal bonds, thereby breaking the relationship system.

Further, the organized antagonism felt by the family whose unity is injured by the removal of a marrying member may result in open conflict that would involve the larger interclan unities, destroying the social structure since its whole basis is the kinship organization.[16]

Custom of the Mir-ri-ri

To discover additional methods for saving the structure from destruction because of asocial actions and to get at the real meaning of some customs that heretofore have appeared inexplicable, let us re-

[16] This organized antagonism which exists between gawel and waku and their respective families is brought out clearly in the myth commonly told of Jabiru and Emu (see Appendix VIII). The attitude of strong solidarity of the daughter toward her father should be noticed; the criteria she applies to her husband in his relations with her father are the normal Murngin ones. The telling of this myth always causes much fearful laughter. The events of the first part of the story might easily happen, but the penis fighting would not occur. The whole myth gives a series of explanations of how animals took their present form, and it also symbolically expresses the antagonisms and standards that apply for son-in-law and father-in-law.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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second ascending generation in ego's line, the marikmos are grouped as A, and the first ascending is D (the father's); and in ego's generation the brothers and sisters are grouped as A again. Ego's son is D and his son's son is A. To the right of ego the line from top to bottom runs B, C, B, C, and B, and to the left of ego the same alternation of generation is found. Ego's grandfather and ego's own generations are grouped together, and ego's son's son is also grouped with him. Ego's father and his son are placed together in a different subsection. In other words, alternating generations within patrilineal lines are grouped together, so that grandfathers and grandsons are considered to be members of one group.

The Murngin use their subsection system much as they do their kinship system; a man or a woman is called by his subsection term almost as often as by his kin designation. Even the children use a subsection title, usually employing it more frequently than the kinship term.

At large intertribal gatherings when the kinship term is difficult to obtain because of the remoteness of the various relatives, the subsection terminology is used; this with slight variations is the same throughout northeast Arnhem Land. Some of the people come from hundreds of miles for these great ceremonies in the lower Goyder and Glyde River districts, and their *kinship* terminology is utterly different. Since the section terms are practically the same and only eight in number, it is comparatively easy to discover one's subsection relationship to an utter stranger. The subsections also play a prominent rôle in three of the main ceremonies. In the Djungguan ceremony they regulate the order of certain dances and also the time for calling out the sacred names of the men's dead ancestors. The subsection as well as the clan and moiety system of the Murngin has a totemic significance, since each subsection has a group of totems attached to it, viz., A^1 Buralung: stone kangaroo, night heron, sultry albatross, and wallaby; A^2 Ballung: iguana; D^1 Wamut: wedge-tailed eagle; D^2 Kamerdung: sea eagle and the sun; B^1 Narit: gray kangaroo and a small fresh water fish; B^2 Burlain: emu and thin-legged kangaroo; C^1 Kaidjawk: ibis; C^2 Bangardi: brown-tailed hawk.

These totems and the subsections, as well as the position of the subsection in ceremonies, will be more fully discussed in the chapters dealing with totemism, local organization and ceremony.

The above description proves clearly that, contrary to the opinion of the older writers, the subsection and section system does not regu-

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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late marriage but serves rather as an extension of the kinship system. The earlier writers' own evidence shows that it does not regulate marriage, because the relationship of a woman and man finally determines what persons they marry. In Murngin as well as Kariera, ego always marries his mother's brother's daughter, and it is of no concern which subsection she is in—in Murngin he can marry a woman of B^1 or B^2 if he is an A^1 or A^2. It is her kinship relationship to him that really counts; further, in the group from which he takes his wife there are several women that he cannot marry—for example, father's mother.

Reciprocals

"Man speaking" and "woman speaking." These terms do not apply to the reciprocals of the Murngin people as they do among certain other Australian peoples. They follow a very simple rule: ego and his sister call all relatives by the same term. If ego calls a man or woman "kutara," she addresses them by the same term. This means that ego's son and daughter, whom he calls gatu, are also called gatu by his sister, while her children are called waku by him and by her. Ego's sister's husband calls her children gatu, and ego's sister's husband's sister would also call them gatu. Ego's mother calls him waku.

The above method, like most exotic systems of nomenclature, seems strange and "unnatural" to a European, yet they have only extended a method we partially use. To all ascending relatives, a sister and brother in our society apply the same terms (mother, father, aunt, uncle, grandfather, and grandmother). They also apply the same terms to certain lateral relatives, such as first and second cousin. The Murngin do the same except that they also include the descending relatives.

There is thus extended to sisters an equivalence with brothers almost as complete as is usual in primitive society.

The Murngin reciprocals are:

Wa-wa ⟷ Yu-ki-yu-ko
Wa-wa ⟷ Yep-pa
Yu-ki-yu-ko ⟷ Yep-pa
Yep-pa ⟷ Yep-pa
Du-mun-gur ⟷ Na-tji-wal-ker
Du-mun-gur ⟷ Mo-mel-ker
Wa-ku ⟷ Ga-wel

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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For the purposes of the blood feud all children, including boys until the time they have a beard, are classed as women; it is felt wrong to kill very young men, who are usually not allowed to accompany the older men on fighting expeditions.

When a man sees the python totem for the first time he must have a moustache and beard. The young men who have not been initiated into the Djungguan by seeing the python totemic emblem are allowed to sit back of the brush hut where the totem is kept. If they are able to look through the wall, they must keep their heads down so that they cannot see what is inside. They are allowed to call out at the end of each song in the chorus with the older men.

When the time comes for them to paint for the last Djungguan ceremony, these young men who have not seen the totem go off to a little depression in the ground or behind some bushes some distance from the old men's camp and put their decorations on by themselves.

Men obtain their wives at almost any age after they have reached maturity, the first usually when the beard begins, and the others at any time after that through the operation of the levirate or because promised by their mother's brothers. For example, several old men over sixty had several female children promised them as wives. The best time for a boy to marry is when his moustache appears, when he "looks like a proper man," and not until then. His father and mother, as well as father-in-law, exert pressure on him to see that he remains single, and they also observe his behavior to make sure that he does not have contact with a girl before that, although usually their efforts are unsuccessful. "Gawel is on the lookout and no business happens with that girl. He says to the father and mother, 'I'll listen for you people too.'" A young man said to me, "We do not sleep with girls before we are married because we are afraid of the old people. Sometimes a girl who belongs to another man says yes and we do. If it is found out the proper husband raises a row, and maybe her father. Sometimes a boy gets killed this way and sometimes they only cut him until the blood comes" (in a makarata).

The proper time for a girl to marry is when her breasts first start developing.

In the married people's camp the husband and wife "own" the hut because they both participate in the making of it and both live in it. The woman ordinarily keeps it clean and throws away the garbage which collects about the floor. Usually she makes the fire and it is her duty to bring in the wood. It is also her duty to cook the shell

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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"Murngin" (Wulamba) Social Organization

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IN RECENT years, the "Murngin" (Wulamba)[1] kinship system and social organization of northcentral and northeastern Arnhem Land, Northern Australia, have been the subject of much controversy and discussion among anthropologists: Warner (1930–31, 1937), followed by Lawrence and Murdock (1949), Radcliffe-Brown (1951, 1954), Lévi-Strauss (1949:216–46 *et seq.*; 1953:538–39, 543), and, recently, Leach (1951). In addition, various aspects have been discussed by Elkin (1933, 1950, 1953), Sharp (1934), Webb (1933), Berndt (1951), and Elkin, Berndt and Berndt (1950).

In this paper I do not intend to discuss this controversy, nor the Wulamba kinship system as such. These aspects will be treated in a more detailed paper to be published in the journal *Oceania*, in collaboration with Elkin. Here I will discuss specifically some significant features of this system of social organization, with particular reference to unilineal descent groups.[2]

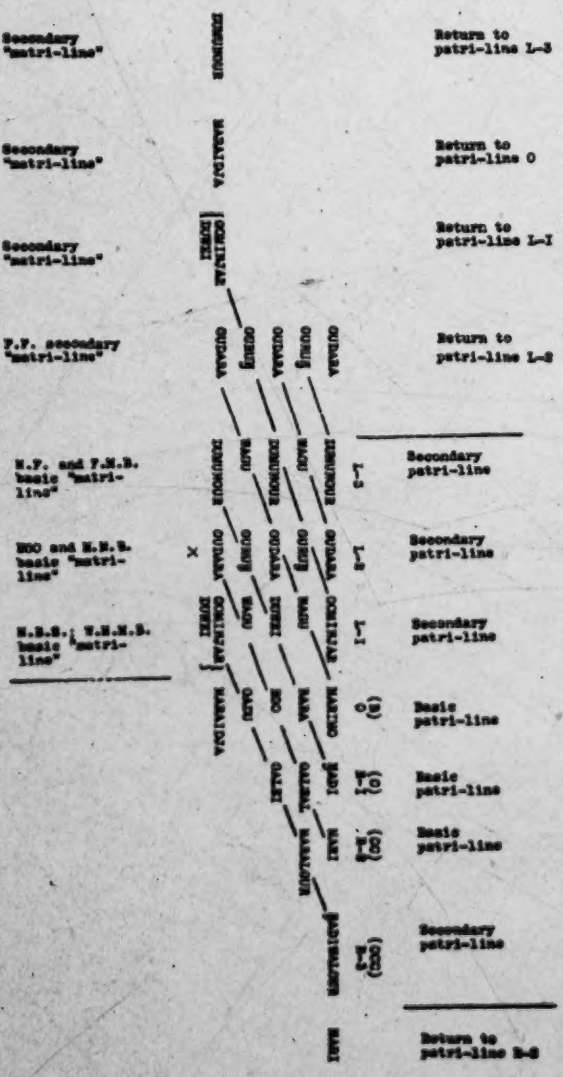
On the whole, Radcliffe-Brown's (1951) criticism of Lawrence and Murdock's approach to Wulamba kinship was fully justified. He demonstrated that Warner's material was basically correct, while Lawrence and Murdock's argument rendered the whole system obscure and remote from real life. The material I worked through largely supports Radcliffe-Brown's contentions and agrees fundamentally with Warner's presentation. In addition, a number of further points are raised concerning structural implications, with most of which I am unable to deal here.

In the Wulamba asymmetrical system, based on marriage with a matri-cross-cousin, the matrilineal and patrilineal descent lines may be diagrammed in the manner adopted by Radcliffe-Brown (1951:46, Table III); see our Table 1.[3] Patrilineal descent is shown vertically, with patri-lines traced from the F.F., M.M.B., M.F., F.M.B., respectively. "Matrilineal" descent is shown diagonally. Five generation levels are associated with seven vertical columns. These latter go in pairs. Column L-1 (to use Radcliffe-Brown's labeling) contains persons who are related to EGO by relationships reciprocal to those in which EGO stands to those in column R-1; the reciprocal of NGADI is GOMINJAR, of GALWAL, WAGU, and so on. The same is the case with L-2 and R-2, L-3 and R-3. These vertical columns signifying patri-lines of descent can be indefinitely extended: but those shown here are the basic lines significant to the Aborigines; and there must always be an uneven number of such patri-lines. The diagonal columns signifying "matri-lines" of descent correspond, in uneven numbers, with the patri-lines. The whole pattern, transferred from the kinship system itself, rests on the principle that (e.g.) males in patri-line 0 find their spouses in the right-hand column, while females of patri-line 0 find their spouses in the left-hand column.

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
OI17 Murngin OI17

582
601
611

TABLE 1



2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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person's association with this line is of a "submerged" nature, and rests on the division of labor between his father and his mother which resulted in his conception. It involves acknowledgment of a maternal blood tie.

The MARI-GUDARA line of inheritance is from M.M.B.'s patri-line to EGO's patri-line. Just as the wives of the males of EGO's patri-line come from his m.'s patri-line, so the *mari*'s of the males of EGO's patri-line are found in his M.M.B.'s patri-line.

Now these three lines are the most important to a person: the *baburu*, *maribula*, and *yandibula* (including NGADI). They are looked upon as being connected to one another by close consanguineal ties.

The "affinal" patri-lines of importance to an EGO are the *wagubula* (containing his Sr.S. and his patri-cross-cousin) and the *yadiwalgurabula* (containing his wife's MARI, and his own MARI's wife).

IV. NATURE OF DESCENT LINE

A. *Leach's Argument.* We must now turn to the problem of the nature of this descent line. But before doing so, we must consider some remarks made by Leach (1951:24–29, 31–34, 51–53). It is his contention "that the corporate group of persons who have the decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of co-resident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations. . . ." Membership of such groups is defined by descent as well as residence. Thus his proposition is, "In a unilaterally defined descent system where a clan . . . ceases . . . to be a localized group, then, in general, it ceases to be a corporate unit for the purposes of arranging a marriage. The corporate group which does arrange a marriage is, in such circumstances, always a group of males who, beside being members of the same lineage or clan, share a common place of residence." These are local descent groups. Diagrammatic local descent groups are local lines; and the latter is distinguished from Radcliffe-Brown's descent line (1951:43). Descent lines, says Leach, have nothing to do with local grouping: the number of basic descent lines in a diagram relating to the kinship system depends upon how many different kinds of relative are recognized in the grandparents' generation. It has nothing to do with the number of local descent groups existing in the society. Failure to distinguish between these two notions has, says Leach, led to confusion. He says that "an important difference between these two is that the descent line comprises at least five generations; the local line considers three generations. . . ."

The problem before us is, then, to test this proposition and the usefulness of the concept "local descent group" or "local line." Leach considers that (e.g.) the type of cross-cousin marriage found among the Wulamba can usefully, for purposes of comparison, be treated as an institutional isolate. We agree with Leach's argument that the seven descent lines shown in Warner's work and by this paper are not actual segments of the total society. Lawrence and Murdock, as well as Lévi-Strauss, made this mistake and so inferred that the system was circular. We agree, then, with Radcliffe-Brown in insisting that

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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they are descent lines. But at the same time, Radcliffe-Brown failed to make clear just what is the degree of correspondence between these descent lines and the local descent groups which constitute Wulamba society. Do we, however, agree with Leach's explanation?

Leach constructs a chart (1951:33, Fig. 7), which includes relatives genealogically related to EGO while he is a youth: i.e., those who are socially important to him as a young man. Warner's diagram is thus redrawn to show moiety arrangement. Leach calls the local descent groups CC, B, C, and CCC (see Table 1).

B, C, CC, and CCC are no longer descent lines but local descent groups: B is allied to CC and balanced against C and CCC. B need not, but may, be a part of CC. We may agree with Leach, who says that the MARI and MARIMO cannot be the same person but they can be "clan" brothers. This point has been noted above. The point in question is the "balance" between wife-givers and wife-receivers. What compensation does a group give when receiving a wife? Leach discusses the status superiority of GALWAL in relation to EGO, and of MARI to GALWAL. The argument is thus: B and CC are allies and stand in balanced opposition to C and CCC; taken in pairs there is an exchange of women. In this manner, although the status difference between "wife-givers" and "wife-receivers" is admitted, the over-all system is represented as one of equilibrium. The economic and status relations are considered the most important theme to be derived from Warner's study.

Now, reorganizing a certain section of Warner's diagram, as Leach has done, does not resolve the problems which he raised. The re-assembling of terms actually adds nothing further than facilitating access to material already latent in Warner's diagram. It tells us nothing more than what Warner has already said. The same number of individuals are accounted for: B and CC, and C and CCC, both belong to different moieties. If B and CC are identified as "brother" groups, as C and CCC may be, then an "exchange" of wives is assumed. Thus we can say that the MARIMO (B) receives as his wife a *momo* (C); he does not give his own sister in exchange (so to speak) to his *momo's* brother NGADI, but his "clan" brother MARI (CC) gives his sister (*mari*) to the NGADI (C) and he is thus compensated; the MARI (CC) is compensated by receiving the sister of the NGADI's clan brother, NGADIWALGUR (CCC). Now, who gives the latter a wife? In Leach's diagram a "clan" sister of CC goes to him, thus placing the local groups CC and B at a disadvantage, at least for the time being. There is not really a balance between "wife-receivers" and "wife-givers," and the over-all system (as explained by Leach) is not one of equilibrium. For equilibrium to be attained, the NGADIWALGUR should receive a wife who is the MARIMO's sister, as compensation for having given his own sister to MARI (a "clan" brother of MARIMO) as wife. But NGADIWALGUR marries a "clan" sister (or actual sister) of MARI, while MARIMO's sister marries a GOMINJAR, who may be equated with a NGADI. But need there be absolute equilibrium? And if there is, need it be achieved in one generation, i.e., in the generation of EGO's grandparents? Leach's

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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analysis of this section of Warner's system omits consideration of EGO's sister's position, and does not take into account the compensatory factors involved in EGO's own marriage. To understand equilibrium (or for that matter disequilibrium) in a kinship system of this kind, to understand the ramification of compensatory factors, we must consider EGO as an adult, for it is his child-producing potentiality which is important.

B. *Asymmetrical Nature of System.* When an EGO marries, certain individuals become involved. For discussion we may diagram as in Table 2, on the basis of Leach.

That is, EGO receives a wife from C' group. His group B (i.e., all members of it), with his MARI group (principally his own MARI), i.e., CC, aid him in accumulating gifts which will be given to C' group. These gifts go principally

TABLE 2

into the hands of EGO's wife's father. A division is then made by this GALWAL, who gives presents to the group of his daughter's MARI (the NGADIWALGUR, CCC), who is incidentally his own W.M.B. and of the line of his own MARI; the remaining goods are distributed throughout the GALWAL's *babarn*.

When EGO's sister marries, certain individuals become involved: the same principle is involved here as above.

On a wider range, the compensatory factors involved can be diagrammed (see Table 3). As one may see by a glance at this diagram, the distribution of goods and services (in the form of reciprocal duties) between persons within the two moieties which contain the local groups is unequal. (I am not considering here the question of intangibles.) The only way in which they might be regarded as equal would be to classify all the groups of one moiety as against all the groups of the opposite moiety. Now this may be done in practice, so that any inequalities are wiped out.

What is, however, revealed by Table 3 is the chain of duties which links a man with his MARI, his obligations to his wife's F., and the latter's to his daughter's MARI. That is to say, the main principle, which is simple enough, and which governs the system, is that the MARI, as the most important of all EGO's relatives, because of the emotional bond existing between the two, because of his general identification with EGO's own patri-line, aids his grandson (his Sr.D.S.) upon his betrothal; but he does not aid his sr.d.d., for through her (EGO's sister) he receives his compensation. A M.B. receives compensation

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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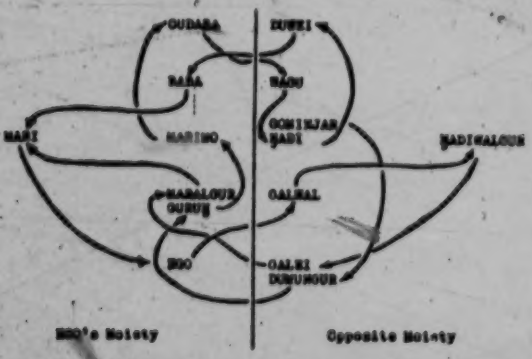
on the marriage of his daughter; but part of this must always go to the latter's MARI. The key positions, then, are those of GALWAL and MARI—the M.B. and M.M.B.; they may be viewed by an EGO as positions of superior status.

Table 3, however, demonstrates the asymmetrical nature of the kinship system. It will be noticed that those in the second ascending generation are receivers and givers (note incoming and outgoing arrows), but the MARI receives more than he gives. This is counterbalanced by his sister's marriage with NGADIWALGUR, when the diagram begins to repeat itself in order to ensure a flow of goods from the outside—that is to say, to ensure that a "spread" or a coverage of a number of groups is made where marriages are

TABLE 3



concerned. There will not in reality be identification of groups within one moiety: it will necessarily be unstable (i.e., as Leach has observed, 1951:52, any system of balances will be unstable).

Or consider the same problem between wife-givers and wife-receivers (Table 4). Three groups are found on *X* side and two on *Y* side: EGO receives his wife from his GALWAL, who in turn receives his wife from his GALWAL, EGO's M.M.B. These symbolize the descent lines of inheritance discussed above. These *X* and *Y* lines are recurrent through the generations, i.e., the MARI (e.g.) receives his wife from his M.B. in the generation level above him. Seniority in status does not depend on a man's giving his d. to a male in the generation below; it is ascribed to him through seniority and position in his relevant generation level. A MARI will always have a higher status than a GALWAL, and the latter than an EGO. Such relationships are implicit, not only in the kinship situation, but throughout social life.

C. *Local Descent Group-Line versus Descent Line.* We may now return to the crux of our problem and examine the term "local descent group" or "local line," which Leach has used in preference to "descent line."

The "local lines" would be, according to Leach (1951:33), CC, B, C, CCC

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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Male siblings of any generation may segment with their descendants: this is particularly the case with male siblings of the second and third ascending generation levels. Actual relationship between members of these parallel groups tends to be somewhat vaguely conceived after the second generation, when use may be made of classificatory terminology considered to be more or less accurate. Each parallel group tends, too, to be more or less of the same size. The linguistic group signifying its maximal range is exogamous. Now, in my opinion the linguistic group could be treated as a lineage: but our labeling it a lineage would depend on our definition.

It may be possible to view the *babaru* as the effective nuclear lineage, conforming with Fortes' definition (1949:9): thus each "segment" would be an effective nuclear lineage which in toto (and in parallel linkage) would form the wider lineage or linguistic group. But our definition of lineage would have to be made, not only in terms of genealogically traceable male relatives, but also by allowing some coverage of classificatory male relatives who are viewed as belonging to a common unilineal descent group—which is exactly what the linguistic group is.

G. *Nature of Linguistic Group and Clan.* Each descent group is the *babaru;* it forms the basis for the expanded family, spread across the parallel descent groups within the linguistic group. All male members of the *babaru* have a common interest and a sense of belonging to a common stretch of country, of sharing a common sacred background. The head of the *babaru* will be the MARIMO, and it is upon his decision (usually) that fights and feuds are begun, continued, and terminated: he is, more or less, the jural head of his group. As we have seen, several of such groups form the linguistic group, which means that such parallel groups not only occupy the same ground, hunt together, join in sacred ceremonies together, and so on, but also speak a common dialect which distinguishes them from other linguistic groups. As a linguistic group, these parallel descent groups have in common sacred emblems, songs, sections of mythology, and patterns or totemic designs.

Now, it is true that, as Leach has remarked (1951:25), "The number of basic descent lines in such a diagram [i.e., the kinship system set out diagrammatically] depends merely upon how many different kinds of relative are recognized in the grandfather's generation. It has nothing to do with the number of local descent groups existing in the society." But the classification of such a system into seven basic and secondary patri-lines that symbolize local descent groups is an indication that a categorization takes place. This categorization is an abstract, so to speak, of what actually occurs. It is nothing so rigid as seven "watertight" groups; but what is inferred is a scattering of consanguineal and affinal relatives, throughout a number of linguistic groups. It symbolizes range.

Within the parallel groups forming a linguistic group one finds all kin who are actual and classificatory F.F., F., S., and so on. One might also conceivably find a scattering of relatives who belong to the patri-line of one's MARI, assuming the close identification of MARI with MARIMO. But usually the

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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ritual occasions. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding their binding ritual and economic obligations, the descent group as such is the only unit to which one may turn to obtain aid which will be given more or less automatically.

As Leach has said (1951:53), "the network of kinship relations embraces a great number of local groups [corporate descent groups] and ties them into a kind of loosely knit political system; but throughout the population so linked there is no strong sense of social solidarity and in some cases there are even wide differences of language [as among the linguistic groups] and culture [not in this case, however] between different parts of the one system." That is to say, the usual characteristics of tribal organization are lacking; and it is for that reason that these people of eastern Arnhem Land belong to what I have called the Wulamba bloc, speaking a number of related dialects of one language which in toto are referred to as Miwoidj.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The Wulamba material carries a number of general theoretical implications. These concern primarily, in this context, the corporate or unilineal descent group. The minimal propositions discussed by Leach (1951:52–53) mainly refer to the question of relationship between wife-givers and wife-receivers, and the differentiation of status. These arguments regarding the relevance of status concepts to the analysis of "bride-price" (i.e., bride-wealth) and dowry have not been followed up to any extent here. The status concepts which do exist in Wulamba social life, and are reflected in their kinship system, are those dependent on seniority and reinforced by ritual and sacred ceremony. Other factors linked with status considerations are the prestige attaching to fighting ability, to proficiency in magic, and to parenthood as such. Status derived from these sources need not coincide with ritual and ceremonial status, nor with status associated with seniority in a descent group or a linguistic group. Nevertheless, discussion of all these features would be relevant in any detailed study of kinship and social organization (see Sharp 1934:418–20). But status dependent on being a "wife-receiver" or "wife-giver" is to my mind not relevant. A man's status is not necessarily derived from or enhanced by his being a "wife-giver." It so happens that the "wife-giver" will be socially "superior" (although the term "superior" has connotations which I do not think are applicable here), but he is possessed of this status whether or not he accedes to the expectation that he will give his daughter to his Sr.S. I admit, however, with Leach, that a more detailed analysis is necessary of the economic aspects of the effects of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. As he states (1951:45), "the reciprocities of kinship obligation are not merely symbols of alliance, they are also economic transactions, political transactions, charters to rights of domicile and land use."[4]

Leach points out that when Kachin-type marriage (and presumably Wulamba marriage) occurs—i.e., matrilateral cross-cousin marriage—it is part of the political structure. Now this may certainly be the case among the Kachin, or among certain African groups, but is it the case among the Wulamba? Our

2: Berndt E-S (1946-1950) 1955
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[4] I would not say, however, that Thomson's material (1949) on ceremonial economic exchange fills many gaps, if any, in Warner's data (see Leach 1951:34). It is obvious, I think, both from his material and from ours, that exchanges of this nature between M.B. and Sr.S. comprise merely one element in a wide system of economic exchanges. Goods travel backwards and forwards through the network of cognatic relationships, against a background of linked and allied linguistic groups, in a traditionally prescribed fashion, between certain specified kin, passing outside the periphery of the Wulamba bloc into and from alien Aboriginal or European (or Indonesian, as before) channels. Such exchanges consist of specified objects or commodities, which move in different directions across the surface of the whole country; but this is only one aspect relevant to the total kinship system.

Also, I would agree with Leach (p. 52) that in a marriage exchange the equivalent of a woman is not only another woman, and that the equivalent of a woman may be found not only in goods and labor and symbolic objects. Certain intangibles can play a part—and these may involve prestige, rights, services, and perhaps status. Little work, as yet, has been done in consideration of these. Reciprocal exchanges between males and females, or between females, should also be discussed in much greater detail, for these are not just reflections of exchanges between male partners. It is not satisfactory to consider an EGO as being always a male, as has been done in most discussions of kinship systems. Where prestations occur between male and female kin, these seem to conform with traditional patterns; but between female kin (i.e., among the Wulamba), this is not so apparent.

[5] Radcliffe-Brown (1931:4–5) calls the local group a horde: he states that each horde is independent and autonomous, managing its own affairs and acting as a unit in its relations with other hordes (however, see pp. 28, 106). Elkin (1938:39–41, 73–74) discusses the local group: it is, he tells us, an enlarged family, consisting of a man and his living descendants in the male line; such a group can be a local patrilineal clan. Elkin then draws a distinction between the local group and the horde, which is as we have defined it above. In fact his statements would, I think, agree with our own here.

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5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

The Aborigines of East Arnhem Land

A BOOMERANG

A nation's soul at stake!
Now seared and hurt with ill;
Bereft of stick and stake,
By callous alien's will.

A nation's soul at stake!
And that the white man's soul!
He must atonement make
Ere he redeem it whole.

—J.E.P.

Present Condition and Possible Future

144 The natives of East Arnhem Land belong to the Aboriginal race which, prior to white settlement, occupied the whole of this Australian continent. Though these north coastal districts were, during a long past, frequently visited by maritime traders from the Malay Archipelago, there is no evidence of any racial admixture sufficient to produce a variation of physical or mental characteristics, but some few cultural traces of these visitations are to be observed.

● 582 616 617 The social organisation of these people conforms in general principle to that which is familiar to all students of this Australian race. There are, first of all, two individually exogamous, but intermarrying moieties, in this case known as Yirritcha and Dua respectively. Each of these moieties is divided into four sub-sections, making eight sub-sections in all. Marriage can only be between a man and a woman of opposite moieties, and is further regulated by the fact that a man of a particular sub-section of one moiety may marry only a woman of a particular sub-section of the opposite moiety. (See page 8.)

[611] The moieties are determined by patrilineal descent, but the sub-sections by matrilineal descent. That is, the children of a Yirritcha man will also belong to the Yirritcha moiety, but their sub-section is determined by that of the mother, irrespective of that of the father. Therefore, a Yirritcha man of the Bungardi sub-section normally marries a Dua woman of the Kumandjan sub-section. Their children belong to the father's moiety, and so are Yirritcha, but belong to the Bulain sub-section. A

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

Kumandjan woman's children will always belong to the Bulain sub-section, and this order obtains right through the intermarriage of the eight sub-sections of the tribe. 582 611 616 617

All the members of each sub-section, both male and female, possess a definite relationship to some particular bird or animal, which constitutes their class totem or "jungoin." This form of totemism is but poorly developed, and any mature person, after passing through a brief ceremony, may freely kill and eat his or her totem animal. 616 617 (See page 16.)

In this area the distinctive feature of the tribal organisation is the emphasis placed on the local hordes or clans, which are of great number, and in some cases contain but few individuals. Each horde consists of men of one moiety only, with their wives of the opposite moiety, and each horde possesses a definitely defined territory, which in every case includes a ceremonial totemic centre. This ceremonial totemism is, in contrast to the class totemism, very highly developed, and is of the utmost significance and importance. 614 621 778

These ceremonial totems, which are very numerous, in the vast majority of cases consist of— 532 778

(a) Representations of utensils and implements believed to have been originated, used and conferred upon the people by certain mythological ancestors.

(b) Representations of natural species associated in legend with these ancestors.

(c) Representations of these mythological ancestors themselves.

All of these are highly conventionalised in design.

These "Muraian," as they are called, lie at the basis of most of the ceremonial life of the people. They are most jealously guarded, and are believed to exercise a profound influence on the fortunes of the clan. The revelation of and the explanation of these "Muraian" constitute one of the most important stages in the education of the young men. 614 778

During the "Nara" ceremonies, which are associated with these "Muraian," the initiates have impressed upon them the ancient tribal regulations and sanctions. They are warned against being insolent to their elders, against dishonesty, against lying, against improper relations with women, and so are enforced many excellent ethical lessons. During their period of instruction they are placed under a food tabu, and are informed that any breach of the regulations taught will result in illness or deformity. 796 867 [784]

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

The regular system of marriage between the sub-sections, with the sub-sections of the offspring, is as follows:— 582 617 611

Yiritcha man	Dua woman	Yiritcha children	
		Male	Female
Ngarit	Bilindjan	Bangardi	Bangaritjan
	Kalian	Kaijark	Koitjan
Bulain	Kalian	Kaijark	Koitjan
	Bilindjan	Bangardi	Bangaritjan
Kaijark	Warmutjan	Ngarit	Ngaritjan
	Kumandjan	Bulain	Bulaindjan
Bangardi	Kumandjan	Bulain	Bulaindjan
	Warmutjan	Ngarit	Ngaritdjan

Dua man	Yiritcha woman	Dua children	
		Male	Female
Buralang	Bulaindjan	Warmut	Warmutjan
	Ngaritjan	Karmarung	Kumandjan
Balang	Ngaritjan	Karmarung	Kumandjan
	Bulaindjan	Warmut	Warmutjan
Karmarung	Bangaritjan	Buralang	Kalian
	Koitjan	Balang	Bilindjan
Warmut	Koitjan	Balang	Bilindjan
	Bangaritjan	Buralang	Kalian

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OII7 Murngin OII7

Marriage and Relationship

578 595 In the social life of the people polygamy is generally practised, some men having as many as eight wives. While a good deal may be said in justification of this practice among a nomadic people, such as these aborigines are, it is a very fruitful cause of trouble and strife. This is occasioned by the jealousy which older wives frequently feel toward their younger tribal [589] sisters, and also by the fact that, because of this system, many young men of marriageable age are unable to obtain partners. This latter fact, not unnaturally, leads to the stealing of women and general breaches of the moral laws of the tribe.

562 627 672 684 One, to us, highly unjust custom is to punish a woman who has been stolen, even though she has been taken away by force, much more severely than the man who has stolen her. In most cases she is, when recovered, badly speared or beaten, in some cases so severely treated as to be killed, while the man who has taken her, unless he occupy a prohibited relationship to the woman, is usually let off with a severe lecturing.

627 684 Generally all the relatives of the wronged husband who are present will join in this brutal chastisement of the woman, their action being justified by the fact that they "feel sorry" for their fellow-tribesman. Perhaps experience has proved the value of this method of controlling domestic relationships.

582 584 Marriage, as previously indicated, is regulated by the social organisation of the tribe. There are only certain men of the opposite moiety who are eligible to become the husband of any particular girl or woman. To one of these men the girl is given in infancy, and, though this man has nothing directly to do with her until she reaches the age of puberty, he is required, during the years of her infancy and girlhood, to fulfil certain obligations, such as the making of presents of food, weapons or utensils, to her father.

[585] Because of this custom, there is nothing approaching a ceremony of marriage among these people, the girl during infancy as really belonging to the man as she will later on when he actually 587 takes her to wife. When a man dies, his wife or wives immediately 768 pass over to one or more of his tribal brothers, so that, excepting in the case of a few very old women, there are no widows, and there are no orphans in this aboriginal community.

616 ***"Dual division"*** **or** ***"dual organisation"*****, cuts right through the social organisation of Arnhem Land (as in many other parts of Australia and elsewhere), dividing it into two halves or "moieties", so that half the clans, with their totems, fall into one moiety and half into the other moiety.**

In Arnhem Land the moieties are called *dua* and *yiritja*, but they are not always actually named and the *dual division* may be present and may function without the moieties bearing names. Often the natives believe that they can detect physical differences between the members of the two moieties. Sometimes they assert that the people of one moiety have curly hair and those of the other straight, or that there are differences in eye or skin colour. There is often a marked *"opposition"* between moieties to which formal expression is given on ceremonial occasions. This formal or "organised" opposition finds expression, and is often stressed, in the mythology, and especially in totemism, the whole of the totemic organisation being divided between the two moieties.

784 783 673 ***Euphoria.*** **A state of social well-being brought about by the correct observance of ritual behaviour, especially of tabus, in contrast with *disphoria*, a "ritual state of sin" or "bad luck" due to the breaking of tabus. Generally a formal rite of expiation or "purification" of a type laid down by tradition, must be carried out by the individual or by the group to restore a state of *euphoria*.**

582 ***Exogamy*** **is simply the rule of "marrying out" as opposed to *endogamy*—marriage within the group. In Arnhem Land society the family, clan and moiety are all strictly exogamous and each of these groups is comprised of people with whom marriage is not only not permitted, but to whom, under the kinship system, the pattern of behaviour is incompatible with that towards a wife or husband.**

592 595 ***Family.*** **This is the fundamental unit in social life. In Australia it is the group consisting of a man and his wife or wives, (for these people are *polygynous*), with their young children, own or adopted. Each family lives as a separate, and to a large extent independent, unit, within the camp of the horde. It makes its own fire around which its domestic life is centred and at which it prepares its own food. Around the fireside the food is eaten and here the family sleeps and lives its own separate life.**

621 ***Horde,*** **is the name given to the group which at any time actually *occupies* a clan territory. It is the important functional group and is generally the war-making and law-making group and is an independent social and political unity, but its membership may change, and it lacks the permanence and stability of the clan, the group which a man enters by birth alone.**

10: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1958
OI17 Murngin OI17

Wongar men, things would have been different. Both the men and the women were Dua. They were incestuous. It was like a brother and sister being together. Those two sisters left that country, one pregnant and the other menstruating. If they had not done this, this cycle would never have happened. Everyone and all plants and animals would have stayed single. But after the Wawilak sisters had done this they made it the law for everyone (pages 250-251). 159 581 828 773 825

When I was a small boy I walked about single. One day my gawel came to me and said, "Look at me. I am your gawel. You must give me kangaroo and turtle and spears. By and by I will give you my gatu mielk" (pages 93-98). 159 431 582 583

I gave him spears and spear-throwers, hair belts, and all kinds of food because he would give me his daughters. When I first started making presents to him for my wife, my younger brothers all helped me. By and by, when they get ready to have a wife, I shall help them make presents to their gawels. My gawel gave my father presents of spears and food, and he also gave my arndi presents because I was her son and because she is my gawel's sister.

We like our wives' fathers very much. Suppose my gawel and my father quarrel and suppose they fight. I can do nothing. I cannot help my father. I cannot help my father-in-law. I must do nothing. They are all the same to me. I must try to stop any fight. 159 606

All men try to get plenty of wakus in other countries. This is because they send presents to their gawels. They send things that aren't in this country. This country, where we are now, has no stone. Relatives here send presents to the Ritarngo country for stone spear heads. They send bamboo to the Goyder River people for it. Some others have no white clay and they send to other countries for it. Fathers-in-law and sons-in-law are the people who do this (pages 95-96). 159 431 604 606

Sometimes a no-good gawel promises his daughter to three wakus. All these "half" sons-in-law give presents to him. They all think they are going to get that girl. By and by one gets her. This means a big row. The other two want to fight this lucky one, and they always fight the father of the girl because he has been two-faced. They think this gawel maybe is a little bit crazy. Sometimes two or three boys, when they are all trying to get a girl, see that her father is no good and they all quit. 159 578 604

When a man marries a woman his father-in-law tells him to take good care of her. When a man has two daughters from his father-in-law, sometimes the old man comes and says to him, "It is better that I give your younger brother this next girl." The older brother says, "Yes, you tell him 159 584

10: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1958
OI17 Murngin OI17

159 to feed her [give her to him]"; but if he is a greedy fellow he says, "No, I
584 want to keep her myself."

159 The black man's custom is different from the way white men are. A
[583] black man takes a wife when she is very young, sometimes before her
593 breasts have come. He sleeps with her, loves her, and does everything but
[826] have intercourse with her. This makes his girl want him and makes her breasts come large and start sticking out. That is before her blood comes.
[841] When blood first comes to a woman it is after she has copulated with a man for the first time. That is what causes it. She has blood a few more times, and then she has a baby, and then the blood stops.

159 If my wife gave me no children, I would go to my gawel and tell him. He
587 would say, "Wait a little while and I will give you another daughter of mine
595 so that you can have children." If my wife died, my father-in-law would give me another one right away. If he hasn't a grown daughter, he would wait until his little one got larger and then he would give that girl to me.

159 When my second wife got large enough her father and mother brought
595 her to me and said for her to stay with me and that I was her husband (pages 95-96). My first wife [the new wife's older sister] did not growl at me but kept very quiet when I was around. When I was away she growled at her little sister and told her to go on away. "Mahkarolla belongs to me and not to you." By and by my new wife told me about this. She also told her mother and father.

[626] They said to my first wife, "You must stop this quarreling with your sister. She is just the same as you. You are our daughter and she is our daughter. You have Mahkarolla for a husband, and we have given her to him and she has him for a husband. She is your young sister. You will now have someone to look out for the wood for you, and she can help you get food for your husband."

My wife kept quiet then. Those two sisters live together just like good friends. They never fight like the wives of some husbands do. They look out for each other's children.

159 When another gawel liked me he went to my proper father-in-law and
584 said, "I like that son-in-law that belongs to you. I would like to give him my daughter. He can be a son-in-law of mine, too." My gawel, because he is a good man, said, "You haven't promised that girl of yours to somebody else, have you?" If that man had said, "Yes," mine would have said, "No, you can't because that will make trouble for my son-in-law." That man said, "No," so my father-in-law said, "Yes."

159 My mother-in-law—I don't talk to her. I can't go close to her camp, can't
606 go pick up something close to her camp, can't take food from her. I can't give food to her straight; I must give it through my wife. When I am

10: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1958
OI17 Murngin OI17

I said, "Your mother is here alongside of me." Her mother had not had children yet. We had no family. She was only a young girl. I awakened my wife and told her my dream, for I thought straightaway, "I am going to have a daughter." I said to her, "I dreamed a girl for you." My wife knew then she was going to have a daughter.

After my daughter was born we knew we were going to have a son because I dreamed a son. One moon went by. My wife felt a little bit heavy. She told me. I said, "Yes, that is what I told you before in the dream." A few months later a son was born.

I like my children. If a father and mother do not take care of their sons and daughters all the women everywhere start gossiping about them. They say that they are crazy, that maybe they have an evil spirit in their heads, and they say they are no good. We men talk the same way, too. We do not like to see little children mistreated. My little son is just the same as my spear-thrower. He is just the same as my right arm (page 71). I think it is a good thing for a man to have a lot of children. It makes a lot of people in his tribe. It always gives him, when he gets old, all the things he wants to eat and use for himself. If he has trouble, and all men have trouble, he does not have to go to his mother's people or his wife's people for help. He has it himself. He can take his own sons and fight any people because he is strong. When a man has no sons and no daughters, then when he gets old he can do nothing. We black men like daughters too because when they marry that gives us many wakus and makes us very strong. Good sons-in-law always make many gifts. Good wakus make men proud. We like sons too because nobody can hurt us.

Sometimes people talk out loud in the camp at night, and they say, "Which one did you promise this daughter of yours to?"

I say, "I don't know." I say, "No one." I say, "If I have a sister and she has a son I can't wait any longer then. I must point at that waku [sister's son and son-in-law]. He must get her. But now I must keep quiet. I can't say anything. My sister has no son and I must wait. My little boy's mother has a brother; by and by when he has a daughter, I must go to him and get that girl for my son. That will make everything right and keep our family straight" (pages 65-67).

Maikarolla as a Friend and a Murngin

Those who believe that the savage has a prerational mentality have not known natives intimately, either because of not being in contact with them or because of the mental barrier of scientific or religious dogma. The larger ideas and more general concepts of primitive people are much the same as our own. They have their philosophers and thinkers, their fools and their

12: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION IN EASTERN ARNHEM LAND

By T. THEODOR WEBB[1]

131 THE aboriginal peoples referred to in this paper are those occupying the country to the north-east of a line running roughly from Cape Stewart on the north coast of Arnhem Land to Blue Mud Bay in the Gulf of Carpentaria, and extending to the sea coast and the adjacent islands. The social organization of these peoples is marked 621 by a very pronounced emphasis on the importance of the horde, each of which exists as an almost entirely independent unit. These hordes are very numerous; some of them are very small, and there is definite evidence that several of them have actually become extinct, at least in so far as their patrilineal descent as a separate unit is concerned. With the few exceptions mentioned below, each of [197] these hordes, no matter how small, has its own particular dialect. In many cases the dialectal difference is small, and in at least one instance would appear to be consciously artificial.

621 The two moieties into which the aboriginal society is divided are known as Yiritcha and Dua respectively, and these names are 616 used without variation throughout the area indicated. Each horde is exclusively Yiritcha or Dua, as the case may be, and every man [582] obtains his wife from some other horde of the opposite moiety.

621 The two moieties are divided into eight subsections, four Yiritcha and four Dua, and the prevailing form of totemism includes 616 the definite relationship of all members, both male and female, of 617 each subsection (*marlk*), with some particular bird or animal, which is known by the individual as his or her *dzuŋoin*. These *dzuŋoin* have, as far as I am able to discover, no association with totem centres. Every member of the same subsection possesses the same *dzuŋoin*, irrespective of the horde to which he belongs.

[1]Chairman of the North Australia District of the Methodist Missionary Society of Australia.

12: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

The eight subsections, with their totems, are as follows:

Subsections. Male (Yiritcha)	Female	Totems.
Ngarit	Ngaritjan	*kurrʃumbul yorowarau*[1] (slender-limbed kangaroo).
Bulain	Bulaindjan	*kurrʃumbul borumgor* (stout-limbed kangaroo).
Kaijark	Koitjan	*karrkain* (fork-tailed kite).
		kurrilʃorrk (large black lizard).
		jiriwi-jiriwi (wagtail).
Bangardi	Bangaritjan	*urrpan* (emu).
(Dua)		
Buralang	Kalian	*werrli* (agile wallaby).
		ẓgandil (smaller wallaby).
Balang	Bilindjan	*damala* (white-breasted sea-eagle).
Kamarung	Kumandjan	*karmarug* (wedge-tailed eagle).
Warmut	Warmutjan	*warmut* (black-breasted buzzard).
		dulaku (black-nosed kangaroo).

The moieties are determined by patrilineal descent, but the subsections by matrilineal descent.

The regular system of marriage between the subsections, with the subsections of the offspring, is as follows:—

Yiritcha man.	Dua woman.	Yiritcha children. Male.	Female.
Ngarit	Bilindjan	Bangardi	Bangaritjan
	Kalian	Kaijark	Koitjan
Bulain	Kalian	Kaijark	Koitjan
	Bilindjan	Bangardi	Bangaritjan
Kaijark	Warmutjan	Ngarit	Ngaritjan
	Kumandjan	Bulain	Bulaindjan
Bangardi	Kumandjan	Bulain	Bulaindjan
	Warmutjan	Ngarit	Ngaritdjan

Dua man.	Yiritcha woman.	Dua children. Male.	Female.
Buralang	Bulaindjan	Warmut	Warmutjan
	Ngaritjan	Karmarung	Kumandjan
Balang	Ngaritjan	Karmarung	Kumandjan
	Bulaindjan	Warmut	Warmutjan
Karmarung	Bangaritjan	Buralang	Kalian
	Koitjan	Balang	Bilindjan
Warmut	Koitjan	Balang	Bilindjan
	Bangaritjan	Buralang	Kalian

[1] Rolled *r* is indicated by *rr*.

12: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

582 616 It will be seen from the above that though eight subsections are recognized, these operate in four pairs, so reducing the organization in this respect to a four-section system. It should be noticed, however, that normally a man marries a woman of the first-named subsection in the above, *i.e.*, a Ngarit man regularly marries a Bilindjan woman, but under certain circumstances may marry a Kalian woman. A Buralang man regularly marries a Bulaindjan woman, but may marry a Ngaritjan woman, and so on.

778 The chief ceremonial object is called *muraian*, and each horde possesses a number. These are, in the vast majority of cases, representations of (*a*) utensils, such as digging sticks (*bartʃu*), dilly-bags (*batti*), clubs (*balata*), *etc.*, supposed to have been used by mythological ancestors; (*b*) natural species associated in legend with these ancestors; (*c*) these mythological ancestors themselves or certain of their physical organs. These *muraian* would, I suppose, be termed ceremonial totems, though it seems an abuse of the term so to apply it. *Muraian* is the common " outside " name for these objects, while the ceremonial or " inside " name is *raŋga*. *Muraian* is, on rare occasions, used to indicate anything sacred or tabu, but correctly the term applies only to these particular objects, the general term for sacred being *yarin*. Thus the *muraian* or *raŋga* is *yarin*.

796 621 778 The ceremonies associated with these *raŋga* are known as *nara*,[3] but while there is found an ill-defined system of local totem centres the *nara* ceremonies are performed at any suitable place, quite frequently in the territory of another horde many miles from the totem centre to which it belongs. Not infrequently both Yiritcha and Dua hordes will unite for a *nara* ceremony, *raŋga* of both moieties being used.

778 621 614 It is upon these *raŋga* that the only real cohesion between the various hordes is based. Certain hordes of the same moiety, though as widely separated as Elcho Island on the north coast and Blue Mud Bay on the Gulf of Carpentaria, possess the same *raŋga*, and these are regarded as belonging to the same *mala*. I leave it to be

[3] It should be noted that the *nara* ceremonies are in no sense increase rites, which are unknown in this region.

13: Elkin E-4 (no date) 1933 O117 Murngin O117

[P. 412]

MARRIAGE AND DESCENT IN EAST ARNHEM LAND

By A. P. ELKIN

611 MR. THEODOR WEBB'S article on "Social Organization in East Arnhem Land"[1] supplies evidence for the existence of a 114 rule of descent which is very interesting and at the same time unusual in Australia. He states that "the moieties are determined by patrilineal descent, but the subsections by matrilineal descent." Perhaps it would be better to say that the descent of the moieties is patrilineal, while the descent of the subsections, which are divided between the moieties, four in each, is indirect patrilineal; but there is a proviso that in the case of alternate marriage, of which there is a regular scheme, the children belong to the subsection of the father's moiety to which they would have belonged had their *actual mother* been regularly married according to the strict subsection rule. Thus, the father is "thrown away" as far as the subsection is concerned.

617 Now, the subsection from which the alternate wife comes, 582 belongs to the same section as the subsection of the regular wife. 611 This may be put graphically as follows (the usual *Oceania* symbols are used):

$A^1 = B^1$
$A^2 = B^2$
$C^1 = D^1$
$C^2 = D^2$

A man of subsection A^1 normally marries a woman of subsection B^1, and his children belong to subsection D^2. But he may marry a woman of the other subsection of section B, that is B^2; if he does so, his children belong to D^1 and not to D^2. This is what follows if a woman of B^2 were married to a man of A^2, her regular spouse, and bore him children. If, on the other hand, a man of A^2 married a woman of B^1, his alternate wife, the children are no longer D^1, but D^2. Such is the scheme of descent for all the marriages, regular and

[1] *Oceania*, III, 406-411.

13: Elkin E-4 (no date) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

alternate, between the subsections. As far as the sections are concerned—ignoring the two subsections into which each section has been divided—the normal rules of marriage and descent are followed, namely, $\begin{pmatrix} A = B \\ C = D \end{pmatrix}$, and this was the conclusion of W. Lloyd Warner, who worked in the same region as Mr. Webb.[2]

But Mr. Webb's article reveals a most interesting feature of the subsection system in East Arnhem Land, namely, that the cycle of a man of any one subsection is not completed until by marriage and descent all eight subsections have been gone through, and until by descent alone all four subsections of his own moiety have been gone through. In the typical Australian subsection system, however, the cycle is completed by going through four of the subsections in marriage and descent, and two of the man's own moiety in descent only. To put it in another way, in the East Arnhem Land system as described by Mr. Webb, a man and his son's son do not belong to the one subsection, as is the case in the typical systems; the first descendant that belongs to the man's own subsection is his son's son's son's son. Or to use the usual symbols, in the typical system a man of A^1 marries a woman of B^1 and has children D^2; his son, D^2, marries a woman of C^2 and his children are back in A^1. But according to the table provided by Mr. Webb the cycle is: a man of A^1 marries a woman of B^1 and has a son D^2; the latter marries a woman of C^2 and has a son A^2 (not A^1 as in the usual systems); he then marries a woman of B^2 and has a son D^1, who marries a woman of C^1 and his children belong to A^1. According to this rule a man and his son's son cannot marry women of the same subsection, except in the case of an alternate marriage, for they belong to the two different subsections of one section. But in the case of an alternate marriage A^1 marries a woman of B^1, and his son D^2 marries a woman of C^1 instead of C^2, and so his children belong to A^1, the subsection of their father's father.

[2] "Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 33, 2, 184.

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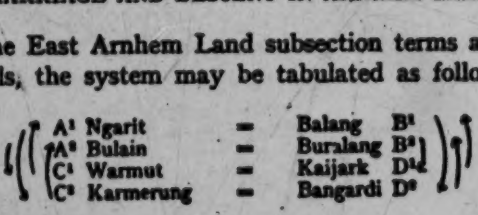
Using the East Arnhem Land subsection terms as well as the usual symbols, the system may be tabulated as follows:



The sign = connects intermarrying pairs of subsections, and the arrows the subsections of mother and child. It should further be remembered that the subsections Ngarit, Bulain, Kaijark and Bangardi together form the Yiritja patrilineal moiety, while the Balang, Buralang, Warmut and Karmerung belong to the Dua moiety. The above table depicts the regular scheme of marriage and descent according to Mr. Webb; an alternate marriage could result in shortening the cycle, as already explained.

In the descent of the subsections Webb differs from Warner, who gives the normal rule of marriage and descent in East Arnhem Land to be the typical Australian rule; that is, in the case of regular marriages a man and his son's son belong to the one subsection, while in alternate marriage descent depends on the mother alone. Indeed, Warner goes further and says that the descent of the subsections always depends on the mother, is matrilineal, and never bi-lineal. He further states that a man of either of the two subsections (say A^1 and A^2), which together make up one section (A), may marry into either of the subsections (B^1 and B^2), which together make up the other member of the intermarrying pair of sections (such as A and B).[3] Webb, however, says that the rule is for A^1 to marry B^1, though under certain circumstances he might marry B^2. Now this would appear to be the case, for as Warner points out,[4] the marriage rule is with mother's brother's daughter, and normally speaking the mother's brother's daughter of A^1 belongs to B^1, that is, to A^1's regular intermarrying subsection, according to Webb's table of marriage and descent. But according to Warner's formula,[5] which expresses the typical Australian subsection system, such as we find

[3] W. Lloyd Warner, *op. cit.*, 184-185.
[4] *Op. cit.*, 188.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 184.

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amongst the Northern Aranda and others, a man of East Arnhem Land could only marry his correct spouse, that is, his mother's brother's daughter, if he married into the alternate subsection (B^2), unless his mother's brother (C^2) had married his "alternate spouse" (D^1 instead of D^2). It should be remembered that one function performed by the normal and usual subsection system is to put cross-cousins into a different subsection from certain second-cousins (the children of mother's cross-cousins, *etc.*), and to put the latter, and not the former, into the subsection with which a person's own subsection regularly intermarries. Thus, in the usual Australian systems, the cross-cousins of A^1 are classed in subsection B^2, with which subsection A^1 does not intermarry. In other words, the subsection system is normally associated with the prohibition of cross-cousin marriage and with the rule of marriage with the daughter of parents' cross-cousin, own or tribal. But the whole point about the East Arnhem Land system is an association of subsections with a rule of marriage with the mother's brother's daughter. That obviously means that under a normal observance of the kinship marriage rule the rule of the descent of the subsections cannot be the same as in those tribes in which subsections are really part of the machinery for preventing cross-cousin marriage. Now, Mr. Webb's table of the marriage and descent of the subsections just shows how this association of subsections and matrilineal cross-cousin marriage can be worked. It is done normally by a cycle which, as we have seen, runs through the whole eight subsections, and not only four of them.

Mr. Webb's account of the descent of the subsections must, of course, be carefully checked, but there does not seem to be any reason for doubting its accuracy. It seems to be based on first-hand information from the natives whom he knows well, and apparently it has not been affected by any attempt to make it fit any theoretical formula of the working of subsection systems. Moreover, the fact that Mr. Webb does not even mention the kinship marriage rule probably strengthens the value of his evidence for the bare working of the subsection system in his region. In other words, Mr. Webb's account does not seem to have been in any way the result of theoretical considerations. Mr. Warner, on the other hand,

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seems to be passing over the larger cycle of the marriage and descent of the subsections, and merely treating the system as one of four sections; indeed, he almost ignores the subsections.[6] But the subsection system seems to be quite important in this area; it has totemic significance, it is used in daily conversation almost as much as the kinship terms, and it is of great value in ascertaining relationship and the associated modes of behaviour at inter-tribal gatherings. It is not therefore an unimportant subdivision of the four sections in East Arnhem Land any more than it is, say, in East Kimberley. Indeed, it is so important that it has been most carefully arranged to fit in with a rule of marriage with the mother's brother's daughter. Theoretically, this has been regarded as impossible, as, of course, it is, if the typical rule of the marriage and descent of the subsections be adhered to. The aborigines of this area were not so bound by theory, and faced with a practical problem, they seem to have solved it in a most ingenious manner by doubling the normal length of the cycle. The anthropologist finds in this another reason for not underestimating the intelligence of the Australian aborigine.

A. P. ELKIN

A NOTE UPON A SIMILAR SYSTEM AMONG THE NANGIOMERI

By W. E. H. STANNER

DURING the course of my field work in the Daly River–Fitzmaurice River district of North Australia in 1932 I spent two or three weeks among the Nangiomeri tribe, whose true historic location is about 60 to 100 miles south-west of the white settlement on the Daly River, where the few remaining members of this tribe now live. The Nangiomeri possess a kinship system of a type closely related to that reported by Mr. Webb and upon which Dr. Elkin's interpretative article is based. I imagined at the time of my discovery and recording of the Nangiomeri system that it might be purely a localised phenomenon, but its occurrence in Arnhem Land, many hundreds of miles away, makes this variant full of important implications for the general theory of Australian kinship. This note is therefore appended to Dr. Elkin's article.

The Nangiomeri have been until recently a tribe without sections, subsections, moieties, or any named or unnamed divisions whatever. They probably once possessed a form of patrilineal totemism. Their kinship system was of general Kariera

[6] *Op. cit.* On a chart facing page 187, Warner simply uses the symbols $A^{1\,2}$, $B^{1\,2}$, $C^{1\,2}$, and $D^{1\,2}$, so that the subsection signs are valueless.

797 speaking groups of Elcho Island, the Glyde and Goyder
754 Rivers on the west, and eastwards around Buckingham,
Arnhem and Melville Bays, to Cape Arnhem and Port
[177 Bradshaw and south to Caledon and Blue Mud Bays, had
184] little actual experience of the sinister cult of the *kalka*. But when the Methodist Mission moved from Elcho Island to the Crocodile Group and set up its headquarters at Milingimbi, an island lying a short distance off the coast, it brought the people who had accompanied the Mission into the very stronghold of a form of secret killing or sorcery that was strange to them. On this account they
609 came to regard the people of the west—whom they called
186 *warnba*, strangers—with fear and suspicion, and they have been more or less at loggerheads with them ever since,
[152] resulting in frequent blood feuds, and a considerable loss of life.

For years it was the practice of the natives who had moved from their own countries to the island of Milingimbi, into what was to them foreign and hostile territory, to discourage visits of the local people by acts of aggression and violence, depending on the Mission to protect them from reprisals.

797 Mr. Webb, who was in charge of the Methodist Mission
728 in the Crocodile Islands, once informed me, when I was at Milingimbi during a brief respite from patrols on the
722 mainland of Arnhem Land, that in the early days of the Mission there he had once, to maintain peace, bought all their fighting spears from the natives, but that when an attack from the mainland was reported to be imminent he had had to re-issue these—though in actual fact the attack
609 did not occur.
186 As often occurs when a people are brought into contact with those of a different culture, the natives from the east tended to exaggerate traits of the Burara that they regarded
[520] as undesirable and often told me ribald stories stressing the misdeeds of their neighbours. After a long recital of the faults of the Burara, whom he stigmatized as *warnba*, one informant remarked by way of special emphasis, '*yappa lukka!*'—they cohabit with their sisters. The brother-sister
[835 tabu is rigidly enforced in east Arnhem Land. Even to
684] mention the name of a woman in the presence of her brother is a grave ritual offence, called *mirriri*, and brother-sister incest is a crime for which there is no expiation, punished by the death of both parties.

582 The charge of incest against the Burara may owe its
835 origin to the fact that these people, unlike their neighbours to the east, had a normal tribal organization, which meant that members of clans of opposite moieties within the tribe and of the appropriate kinship status could marry, since the tribe is not exogamous. Because people between
582 whom marriage was permitted were actually members of
835 the same tribe, the practice would suggest incest to their
152 neighbours of the east, already fearful of the magic of their
186 *kalka* and ready to attribute to these people practices that were to them anti-social and unnatural. This attitude of the Elcho Island people was well shown by the fact that they charged their neighbours with cannibalism and said of
[324] them '*nganak lukka*'—they eat flesh (human)—overlooking the fact that they themselves also practised a form of ritual

cannibalism which they regarded as indispensable to a hunter in order to maintain his prowess at a level that could earn for him the coveted title of *tjambait*.

During much of the time—amounting to several years—that I lived in Arnhem Land I hunted with groups of the status of horde, which often claimed one or more *marrngitmirri*. I frequently saw these men practising their cult, and was able to make a detailed study of both *marrngitmirri* and *kalka* while I lived a nomadic life with these people.

Kalka *and* Marrngit

The cult of the *ragalk* or *kalka—kalk'* of the Burara—, to which I have referred, is believed to be used to bring about the death of a man who has been made a scapegoat—frequently by a rite of augury—for the death of a member of an enemy horde. Often the victim will be a man against whom the deceased or his group have harboured a grievance of long standing, perhaps because he has failed to honour some payment such as that obligatory to one who has been present at a *ngarra*—or clan totem—ceremony, to make a ceremonial presentation of *ngata*, food (really vegetable food), or of *gerri*, goods, valuables, to the elders of this clan. Of this obligation they say 'to pay back that *marr*'—to propitiate the *malli* of the culture hero whose totem is involved. This *ngata* and the *gerri* presented by men who have attended the *ngarra* by invitation, are dedicated to the *wangarr* and are said to be *yarkomirri*, *i.e.* sacramental. Failure to discharge the obligation to make expiatory payments of the kind that I have mentioned places a man in danger of death by magic, even after a long period of time.

In Arnhem Land the belief is held that the death of any person in full possession of his social personality is due, not to what the white man terms 'natural causes' but to the act of an enemy, often a person who is believed to bear a grudge, real or imaginary, against the deceased. Even death from sickness or drowning, from attack by shark or crocodile, and especially from snake bite, is not regarded as the primary cause, but merely the agent used by an enemy, or by a *ragalk* whose aid he has enlisted, to bring this about. The only exception to the belief about natural death is extreme old age, when, in the words of one of my informants, the people say 'time belong him now'—his time is spent, he has lived his life. Certain types of swellings and deformities are believed to result from ritual visitation or punishment by the *wangarr*, the totemic ancestors, for the violation, even accidental or inadvertent, of a tabu, particularly on the eating of foods which are prohibited at certain critical stages in a man or woman's relation to his family or horde, as at initiation, on the death of near kin, or during pregnancy. Boils of a type distinguished as *marlung* are believed to be due to ritual punishment and so held as proof of the violation of a tabu, usually on the eating of food that is *duyu* (tabu) at critical stages in a man's life.

A man in east Arnhem Land named Nyarrang pointed to a large tumour on his neck and told me that it was due to the *malli birlma—i.e.* a blow from the 'shade' or spirit of an implement called *birlma*—used today as a mallet or hammer in food-preparation by women, and 'found'

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601 respect to each other. The 'father-son' behaviour is one
602 type; the 'mother's brother-sister's son', another type; the 'wife's mother's brother-sister's daughter's husband' a very different type; and so on.

582 This system, however, is not peculiar to north-east Arnhem Land. Nor indeed is the marriage rule. This allows marriage with one's mother's brother's daughter, but forbids it with one's father's sister's daughter. To emphasize the latter
[601] prohibition, a man calls his father's sister by the term for father. This reminds him that her daughter is like a sister to him, and therefore cannot (and will not) be thought of as a possible wife. In other words, only one sort of first-cousin marriage is allowed; it is the cross-cousin on his mother's side for a male, and on her father's side for a female. This is the preferred marriage, but, of course, such a spouse cannot always be obtained. Then, a man marries the child of the cross-cousin of one of his parents, or a person classified with her—a second cousin. This marriage rule and prohibition also operate amongst the natives near Lagrange in western Australia.

617 Now, however, we do come to something distinctive. Comparatively recently in the history of the region, a form of social organization has spread there from the south-west which is known as the subsection system. According to this, a person's relations, that is all the people in the community, are not only divided into about twenty kinship classes (like
[601] the mother, father, brother, sister, son, daughter, nephew, uncle, wife's mother, mother's father, and other classes), but in addition these classes of relations are divided into eight named groups, each of which includes two or three types of relations. Thus, if I am in one subsection, my children are in another, my wife in a third, her mother in a fourth, my mother in a fifth, second cousins whom I cannot marry in a sixth, and so on. In most tribes, too, my son's son and my father's father are in my own subsection, while my son and

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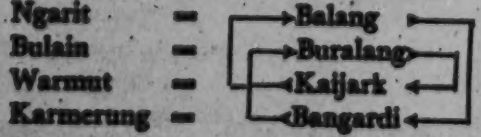
my father both belong to another subsection; further, my mother's brother's children and my father's sister's children belong to one group, whereas the children of the cross-cousins of my parents are divided amongst two other groups. In these tribes, too, the rules prohibit marriage with one's own cross-cousins (mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter), but allow marriage with the daughters of certain of the cross-cousins of one's parents. Therefore, the subsection or group which includes these possible spouses is the wife subsection, whereas the other one, the cross-cousin subsection, must be regarded differently.

It used to be said that the main function of this eight-subsection system was to separate one's first (cross) cousins whom one must not marry from those second cousins whom one could marry, and that the system would not make sense in a tribe which allowed marriage with mother's brother's daughter. However, the Aborigines are the best judges of that. The subsection system came to them at intertribal meetings; they considered it to be of practical value, and being also interested in its totemic and ceremonial aspects, they adopted it. In doing so they modified its principle of descent in the male line, so as to fit in with marriage with mother's brother's daughter. The result, briefly put, is that instead of a man and his son's son belonging to the same subsection, a series of four subsections is gone through before a man and his direct descendant belong to the one group—that is, a man is grouped with his son's son's son's son.

The actual subsection terms used in the region are:



The sign = connects intermarrying pairs of subsections,

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they also possess rituals and myths in common, and in many cases, obvious dialects of one language.

Each of these groups is a patrilineal clan, the members (apart from the wives of the men), being all related in the male line; a social group consists of a man and his brothers and sisters, his children, his son's children, his brother's children and such like. Members of such a clan must never marry one another, but only members of other clans, according to the kinship rules. This rule is called local exogamy. The members of the local clan, together with their wives who have come to live with them (as is the custom), are called a horde.

The most important feature of the local clan is the link which binds its members to one or more sacred totemic waterholes (or wells) in the clan country. The well was formed by the cult totemic hero and ancestor of the clan. In it have sojourned from the great ancestral time the spirits of all those whose earthly course is run, that is, the souls of the dead. Also associated with the well are the clan's totemic emblems and ceremonies. One important function of the latter is the maintenance of the regular order of the dry and wet seasons, and the link with the creative epoch of the totem. Incidentally the souls of the dead may take up their abode, not only in the well, but also in the totemic emblems, and are believed to be present at the great totemic ceremonies. In addition they are called upon to do their part in some rites, especially in connexion with burial. For example, in Chapter 14, Mr Chaseling refers to a deceased child's grandfather chanting a prayer to his own dead brother (that is, the child's 'tribal' grandfather), to come and take the child back to Buralkor, the Island of the Dead. But though a deceased person's spirit goes to this island, it returns to the totemic well in his clan's country. This may seem contradictory to us, but just as space and time were no obstacle to the great ancestresses who came from the island,

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888 [562] perhaps partially blind, with rheumatism stiffening their joints, and with their small and once shapely hands calloused and twisted through digging. In a mustering camp, I overheard casual remarks which led me to suspect that two old women had been left by younger wives to perish in the bush. None of the Yulengor attached any importance to the story, and I found it hard to obtain reliable information. They were just not interested, and by the time I arrived on the scene, the aged women had been dead for a day or more. One had been blind and had been left at this camp in the sand-hills without water or shelter, although both were to be had a few chains distant. Countless dingo tracks led to and from the horror we buried under a pile of stones.

595 462 Stone Age man is usually benevolently disposed toward his wives, but when he has a number of them he tends to leave the work to them, and only as he feels inclined does he exercise a man's prerogative and hunt for kangaroos, wallabies, and emus, or spear fish and turtle. He is expected to control his women. He adds little to the small-talk, and when he does make a remark it is generally of the kind that implies: 'When I ope' my lips, let no dog bark.' Old Baratjura reclined in camp whilst his wives prepared for the hunt. Some were going to a distant swamp, others were to forage near by. One wife wanted to go to the swamp, but her husband told her to stay in the camp and mind the young children. She complained for a time, and seeing that she provoked no response she made a move to go to the swamp. But before she had taken a dozen paces her husband threw his stone axe at her and broke a rib; that, as far as he was concerned, ended the incident.

595 562 [582] From childhood, women take an inferior place; they are often studiously ignored; they are treated as chattels, yet genuine family affection does exist. The constitution of a family is sometimes conducive to good feeling, for a man's

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wives are often sisters—a relationship which is likely to be favourable to very young wives, who often are no more than ten or twelve years of age when married and go to live with their older sisters. More than likely, the mother will later follow them to the outskirts of the new family circle; there to sit by her own small fire and to be suffered in silence by her son-in-law. Young wives are married as children and are regarded by the husband almost as nieces. Older wives, according to their disposition, may treat these children kindly or force them to hew and carry and attend their whims. Older women give the younger ones rigid training in wifely duties, and the arrangement often works out happily. I have seen young wives, and old ones too, cry without restraint when they have been unable to accompany the husband on a hunting trip.

It has been said that aboriginal women are treated with constant brutality and that they play an unimportant role in the decisions of the horde. This is not so, although a wife is at the disposal of her husband and the tone of her existence depends upon his character. Stone Age woman's life is hard, like that of all Stone Age nomads, but her influence is much more important than is popularly imagined. Women join in all camp disputes—indeed, with their gossip they often cause them—and their voices can be heard above the din of shouting men and howling dogs. In peace-making ceremonies they taunt the offenders, abusing them and brandishing digging-sticks in their faces, and they urge their sons either to make peace or destroy the offender. I have seen several peace-making ceremonies collapse because women urged their men to attack the offenders who were suing for peace.

In rare instances termagants control their families and sons' families by criticizing, nagging, and threatening. Late one day I came out of the bush to a camp where Yakangaiya and his married sons were sitting quietly in

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562 groups by their fire, cooking fish and waiting for their wives
578 and mothers to come with food and firewood. For an hour or more Damilipi, the oldest of Yakangaiya's wives, partially blind, stark naked, and switching flies with a bunch of twigs, strode up and down haranguing and insulting her men, accusing them of cowardice and laziness in not raiding their
[628] hereditary enemies and continuing a feud which was dying by mutual consent. Damilipi's campaign was continued for two days, and as other women joined her the horde was roused to the point of organizing a killing party. Weeks later the men attacked, and in the reprisals two of Damilipi's sons and a daughter-in-law were killed.

583 Wives may be acquired by bestowal, by the passing on of widows, or by theft or capture. Bestowal is the most frequent
[582] method, and tribal law provides that a woman must marry her father's sister's son or, should this be impracticable, an equally well-defined alternate husband is provided. Relationships are ageless, and if there are no women in the right marriage-relationship a man not infrequently remains a bachelor till a woman is captured or an elderly widow is available.

Peculiarities result from the practice of bestowal, in that a man does not acquire a mother-in-law by marrying her daughter, but conversely he marries a daughter because her mother has always been his mother-in-law. Several brothers may have the same mother-in-law, who may not have enough daughters for them all, and this gives rise to the practice of promising even an unborn wife to a prospective husband. 'Inipi' is a rite whereby an acceptable son-in-law takes the sebum from his cheek by the side of his nose and anoints the abdomen of his mother-in-law, sometimes while she is still in her infancy, and thereafter all her children come under the special care of the son-in-law, who makes presents to her sons and marries her daughters. By the Inipi rite, one of several brothers may have prior claims and obtain several

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CHAPTER NINE

Hordes at Home and at War

616 An aboriginal myth says that tribal and social laws were
793 made by spirit-Ancestors. Spirit-Ancestors wandered through the country begetting the first aboriginal children and instructing them in secret ceremonies, sacred songs, and dances. These first-born nomads were divided by the Ancestors into two great Dua and Yiritja moieties, and today a Dua man can marry only a Yiritja woman, or vice versa, and all children belong to the father's moiety.

616 This rule applies through the family to the numerous small
624 hordes, for the horde is an enlarged patriarchal family in which the men and their children are members of one of the moieties, and wives and mothers belong to the other. Unmarried adult daughters and sisters are unknown in any
[589] horde, for they are bestowed in childhood to become wives in hordes of the opposite moiety.

617 Each moiety includes four marriage-groups or sub-
●582 sections; the total of eight forms the framework of a marriage and social system. To obtain a wife, a man theoretically considers whether he is Dua or Yiritja; a Dua man invariably marries a Yiritja woman. The problem is further complicated in that he, being Dua, belongs to one of the four Dua marriage-sections and therefore not only marries a Yiritja woman, but a woman who must be from one of its four marriage-subsections, although marriage into a specified second section is allowed. Children of this union take the father's Dua moiety, though they will not belong to his marriage-subsection, nor yet to the mother's, but to another indirectly determined by the mother's.

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It sounded very complicated to me, but I found that all aborigines could name their relationships just as easily as I could recall, say, my first-cousin relationship. In its simplest form the organization provides that a man marries his mother's brother's daughter. Similar systems have operated throughout Australia and are by no means unknown elsewhere. In an ancient biblical folklore story, the aged Abraham sent for his eldest servant, and said: 'Put your hand under my thigh and swear that you will not take a wife unto my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell: But go to my country and take a wife unto my son Isaac.' In later years Isaac in turn said to his son Jacob: 'Arise, go to Padanaram to the house' (horde-family) 'of Bethuel your mother's father and take a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, your mother's brother.'

Neither a man's sons nor his sons' sons procure wives from the same marriage-subsection as he; for though the sons are of the same moiety as the father, Dua or Yiritja, and from the same horde family, they definitely belong to another marriage-subsection. A man's sons' sons' sons' son, however, known to us as his great-great-grandson, is identical with him in marriage-subsection and recommences the marriage-cycle by seeking a wife from the same marriage-subsection as did his great-great-grandfather. Perhaps it should be mentioned that a man must not marry his father's sister's daughter, but he may marry his mothers' brother's daughter. Cross-cousin marriage is prevented.

Amazing as it may seem, a nomad knows with certainty the moiety, horde, and marriage-subsection from which even an unborn infant will seek a wife, and where in turn his hypothetical offspring will find wives. He finds it a very simple thing to trace any family-tree indefinitely, for all the members of scattered hordes in a tribal group are related, and a man can name his relationship to any other nomad, even one whom he has never seen, who may live hundreds of

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602 miles away and belong to a horde of hereditary enemies.

602 177 Yulengor imagine that white people belong to tribal groups similar to their own, and that everyone in them is related. They were incredulous, and thought we were joking, when we told them that there were thousands of white folk whom we had never seen, and that my wife and I had not known each other until shortly before we were married, and that our marriage was of our own choice and freewill.

A government medical officer, accompanied by a lady, came by plane to inspect the station, and Yulengor women asked my wife to explain the relationship between the airman and his passenger, for they had heard that she was not his wife. It was beyond their understanding that the visitors were not related, and they asked repeatedly if the lady were his sister, wife, or daughter. Finally their outraged sense of fitness was satisfied when my wife said that the lady was the sister-in-law of another government officer. This explanation was greeted with murmurs of relief, and they concluded that as all government officers must be 'brothers', one man's wife stood in the tribal relationship of 'wife' to all the other government 'brothers', and all her sisters would be similarly related to them.

582 A man marries his tribal wife, 'galei', and ordinarily she is his mother's brother's daughter. But all the daughters of a mother's brother are a man's 'galei', and if he is fortunate he may marry all of them, but if there are other tribal brothers who stand in an identical relationship with these 'galei', it is unlikely that one man will obtain them all.

601 As a name, 'galei' is used not only for tribal wives, but also in ordinary conversation; a man applies this term to his own wives' brothers, his brothers' wives and paternal first cousins' wives. There are two dozen similar terms, and some of them cover as many as sixteen different types of relatives, that are as distant as the four varieties of galei. Others are